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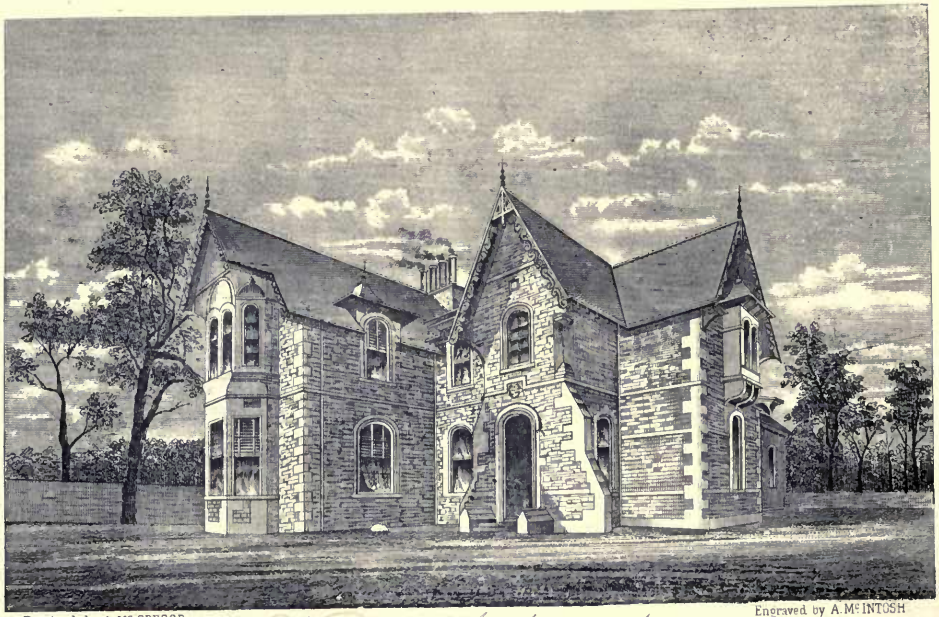
Annals of Auchterarder

AND

Memorials of Strathearn



Designed by A Mc GREGOR.

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Villa in Auchterarder.

THE

ANNALS OF AUCHTERARDER

AND

MEMORIALS OF STRATHEARN

By ALEXANDER GEORGE REID

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THE CASTLE, BURGH, BARONY, AND SHERIFFDOM OF AUCHTERARDER.

THE CASTLE, BURGH, BARONY, AND SHERIFFDOM OF AUCHTERARDER

TRADITION asserts that the Castle of Auchterarder was one of the seats of the Scottish Kings and the residence of King Malcolm Canmore, who granted the Common Muir to the neighbouring burgh. The Barony was originally a Crown possession. Being situated on the road from the Royal Palaces of Scone and Forteviot to Stirling, and the principal manor place of a Barony belonging to the Crown, there is every probability that the tradition of its having been a royal palace is correct, and that the warlike Malcolm and the sainted Margaret abode within its walls.

Auchterarder was one of the Royal Burghs of Scotland. It may be said that no charter of erection is in existence, but its absence is explained

by the fact that the proximity of a Royal seat gave the neighbouring town the status of a Royal Burgh.[1] Whether or not Auchterarder got a charter of erection from the Sovereign, no doubt can exist that at a very early period it was one of the Royal Burghs of Scotland. In the charter of William, the son of Malise, of the lands within or outside the town of Auchterarder, still known as the Abbey lands, granted to the Canons of Inchaffray, which lands he had bought from John, the son of Baltin, he not only appended his own seal to the writing, but, for greater security and fuller evidence, procured to be appended thereto the common seal of the Burgh of Auchterarder.[2]

The Barony of Auchterarder remained Crown property until the time of King Robert the Bruce. King Alexander II., by charter, dated at Cluny, the 13th day of August, in the eleventh year of his reign (1227), granted to the Canons of the Abbey of Inchaffray the teind of his duties of Auchterarder to be drawn yearly by the hands of his tacksmen and bailies of Auchterarder.[3]

[1] Innes' *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, pp. 150-158.
[2] *Liber Insule Missarum.*
[3] *Liber Insule Missarum.*

In 1296, Edward I. invaded Scotland with 5000 armed horse and 30,000 footmen. He passed the River Tweed on 28th March, and continued his progress until 24th April, when he routed the Scots at Dunbar with great slaughter. He continued his triumphant progress northwards, resting at various places. We are told that "on the Thursday he went to Stirling, and they who were within the Castle fled, and none remained but the porter, who surrendered the Castle, and there came the Earl of Strathearn 'to the peace,' and there tarried the King five days. On the Wednesday before the Feast of St. John (20th June) the King passed the Scottish sea, and lay at Auchterarder, his Castle; on the Thursday, at St. John of Perth, a good town, and there abode Friday, Saturday, and Sunday; this same day was John the Baptist's Day." His progress and the places at which he stayed are circumstantially narrated in the Itinerary from which we quote. He returned to Berwick on 22nd August, and the chronicler adds: "And he conquered the realm of Scotland, and searched it, as is above written, within twenty-one weeks without any more."[1]

[1] M.S. in the Imperial Library at Paris. Fonds Lat., 6049, f. 30 b.

Attention is directed to the terms of the words of the French Itinerary in reference to the King having taken up his residence in Auchterarder Castle. "Le Mescredy devaunt Seint Johne passa le roi le Mere d'Escoce et jut â Outreard, son chastelle." Reference is made in the narrative to many other castles in which the King lay, but only in this instance is the Castle stated to have belonged to him. This is conclusive evidence that the Castle was the property of the Crown, and that the King took up his abode in it as such.

The halting of Edward I. with his army at Auchterarder was not the only occasion upon which Auchterarder received an embattled host. In 1332 the Scottish army of Donald, the Earl of Mar, 30,000 strong, lay at Auchterarder previous to the disastrous Battle of Dupplin;[1] and in 1559 the army of the Dowager Queen Mary, under the Duke of Hamilton and Monsieur d'Oysel, lay there, prepared to encounter the Lords of the Congregation.[2] The most disastrous military visit and the last was when the Earl of Mar, in 1716, burnt the town.

[1] *Wyntoun Cronykil.* B. VIII., 3445.
[2] Knox's *History of the Reformation.*

Auchterarder being the only Royal Burgh in Strathearn, was the head burgh of that County Palatine and the seat of a Sheriffdom, the area of which was probably co-extensive with Strathearn. In the interregnum after the death of Alexander III. the office of Sheriff was vested in Malcolm of Innerpeffray, who, in the *Compotus* of the extent of all the King's lands of Scotland for the period between 25th April, 1304, and 28th February, 1305, accounted as "Sheriff of Uthrardor of its issues, 100s."; and again, "from said Sir Malcolm of the issues of the Sheriffdom of Uthrardor and the farms of Glendowiche, £58."[1]

In 1296 the Master of the Order of the Temple in Scotland having sworn fealty to King Edward for the lands possessed by him, letters were sent to the different Sheriffs, and among them the Sheriff of Oughtrerdoner, in whose jurisdiction his lands lay, ordering him to be put in possession.[2]

The Sheriff figures in a transaction in the Scottish War of Independence. There was an Inquisition at Perth held on 1st September, 1305, before Malise, Earl of Stratherne, Lieutenant of the

[1] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.* Vol. II.; 1689.

[2] 24 E. I., *Rot. Scot.*

Warden north of Forth, and Malcolm de Inverpefray, Knight, Deputy of John de Sandale, Chamberlain, and William de Bevercotts, Chancellor of Scotland, on certain articles touching the person of Michael de Miggal by Gilbert de Hay, David de Graham, and others, "who say on oath in Michael's presence that he had been lately taken prisoner forcibly against his will by William le Waleys, that he twice escaped, but was followed and brought back, and he was told if he tried to get away a third time he should lose his life. Thus, it appears, he remained with William through fear of death and not of his own will." The following deliverance is endorsed :—"The Chamberlain is 'commanded to give him his goods and chattels of the King's special grace.'"[1] The Sheriff, as Chamberlain, no doubt favourably represented to the King Michael's excuse, as the subsequent conduct of both the Earl of Strathearn and himself showed a fellow-feeling, and that, like Michael, they had been acting under constraint.

On 15th September, 1305, King Edward I., with the concurrence of ten Scots and twenty-two English Commissioners to his Parliament, made an

[1] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.* Vol. II.; 1646.

ordinance containing certain regulations "for the settlement of Scotland." Amongst these regulations was the following:—"That there should be Sheriffs, natives either of Scotland or England, to be appointed or removed by the Lieutenant or the Chamberlain, at discretion, who should execute the office of escheatry as usual, and that none should be appointed but the most sufficient men and most profitable for the King, and people, and the maintenance of peace." Sir Malcolm de Innerpeffer was appointed, or rather continued, in office, of Sheriff of Auchterarder, and he was at same time appointed Sheriff of the shire of Clackmannan.[1] The appointment did not, however, extinguish the Sheriff's patriotism, as the next thing we hear of him is:—

"The King sends to Walter, Bishop of Chester, the Treasurer, Malcolm de Innerpeffrei, Knight, who at the time of this last 'riote' of the Scots was the King's Sheriff of Clackmannan and Auchterarder, but nevertheless was one of the first to join Sir Robert de Brus, and wickedly abetted the Earls of Menteth and Strathern in aiding said Robert; also fought against the King at the Battle of Seint Johan de Perth, and has done all the damage he could, commanding that he be secured in some strong castle, not in irons, but body for body. Whereon said Malcolm was at once delivered to the Constable of the Tower of London, on the 7th of December."

[1] *Calendar ut supra;* 1691.

Another writ follows regarding Sir Malcolm's two horses, which the King permits him to make profit of at pleasure.[1]

We do not know the result of the proceedings against the Sheriff of Auchterarder, but as his two horses were restored to him, he seems to have been treated leniently. In regard to the Earl, we find that in November, 1306, he presented a memorial to the King and Council, showing that he was compelled to join Sir Robert de Brus through fear of his life.

The Castle and Barony of Auchterarder appear to have been Crown possessions until the reign of Robert the Bruce, when they became the property of Sir William de Montfichet or Montifex, appointed Justiciar of Scotland in 1332. The family was of Norman extraction. They had possessions in England, and a branch for some time settled in Scotland, Robert Montfichet being a witness to a charter of William the Lion in 1184. In Robertson's *Index of Ancient Charters* there occurs an old official inventory, compiled, apparently, about the close of the sixteenth century, in which mention is made of a charter—"Wilhelmo de Montefixo of the lands of Auchterarder with the

[1] *Calendar;* 1858.

town duty." Sir William Montfichet had large possessions, being not only proprietor of the Barony of Auchterarder, but of Cargill and Kincardine in Menteith, and other lands in Perthshire; and also of Kilmahew, in Dumbartonshire, and other lands. He had three daughters, who became his heirs-portioners. To his eldest daughter Marie he left the estates of Auchterarder, Cargill (or Stobhall), and Kincardine in Menteith. She married Sir John Drummond, the seventh Thane of Lennox. Sir John Drummond's eldest daughter was Annabella Drummond, Queen to Robert III. Our present Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria is a lineal descendant of Marie Montifex of the Castle of Auchterarder.[1]

In the reign of David II. mention is made of the Burgh of Auchterarder in the account of the Great Chamberlain for 1366 as being in arrear of the contribution for payment of the King's ransom, being due the sum of thirty-one shilllings.[2] In 1374, the Chamberlain debits himself with thirty-three shillings and four pence received from the Bailies of Auchterarder for contribution; and there

[1] *History of the House of Drummond.* By Viscount Strathallan.
[2] *Rotuli Camerarii Scotiæ.*

are two different entries in the rolls of 1390, both relating to a debt owing by the Crown to the community of Auchterarder on account of certain services to the late King Robert II. There is also another entry in the Chamberlain Rolls, under date 1435, in which it appears that the services to the Crown had not been uplifted by the Chamberlain from the burgesses of Cromarty, Dingwall, and Ochterardor, because no Chamberlain aires had been held within those burghs at the time when the account was made up, Under date August, 1569, in the accounts of the High Treasurer there is an entry, where the "customaries of Ochterairder" are mentioned along with those of St. Andrews.

On 14th August, 1565, by Act of the Privy Council, in name of Henry and Mary, it was ordained "that lettres be direct to officiaris of armes chargeing thame to pas to the mercat croces of the Burrowis of Edinburgh, Hadingtoun, Linlythquow, Striviling, Clakmannane, Kinross, Uchterardour, Perth, Cowper, and all utheris places needful, and thair be oppin proclamation in thair Majesteis' name and autoritie to charge all and sindrie Earlis, Lordis, Baronis, frehalderis, landit

men, and substantious gentilmen dwelland within the bundis (*inter alia* of the Stewartrie of Strathearne), with their houshaldis, honest friendis, and servandis weil bodin in feir of weir, and providit for xv. days after thair comin, to convene and meet the King and Quenis Majesteis at the places and upon the days respective efter followin—that is to say, the inhabitants of Stratherne to meit thair hieneises at Striviling Brig upon Sounday, the xii. day of August instant."[1]

Not only is there thus evidence of Auchterarder being assessed in dues and exercising the privileges of a Royal Burgh, but, what is of more importance, as showing its burghal character, is, that there are three separate precepts of Parliament — in 1570, 1581, and 1600 — summoning Commissioners to Parliament from the burgh. No doubt the names of the Commissioners do not appear in the Rolls of Parliament, but that did not derogate from the right of the burgh to send them; and the probable cause of their not having been sent, and of the infrequency of Auchterarder appearing in the public records, arose from its being completely inland, and without foreign

[1] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.* Vol. I., p. 348.

trade, on which the great customs were levied, and consequently being one of what were called dry burghs. Owing to this, and being much exposed to predatory incursions, it had fallen into an unprosperous and decayed state, which would well account for the fact common enough to Royal Burghs of its not sending any Commissioners to Parliament.

This state of matters is quaintly described in the Act of Parliament of 30th November, 1581, entitled "Ratification of the Fair of Vchterardour," which had been obtained with a view to restore the prosperity of the burgh. The Act is in the following terms :—

"Oure Souerane Lord and three estaites of this p'nt Parliament, understanding that the burgh of Vchtirardour is of auld erectit in ane frie burgh regall, and that the samin is far distant fra the say portis, and hes not usit faires nor m'cat dayis ; the samin is becum decayit, and the inhabitantis thereof pure sua that thai ar not abill to intertene the civill ordor of ane frie burgh, nor zit execute sic justice as thay micht in the cu'trie about, being opressit divers tymes be broken men and lymmeris, quha makis incursiones, and hereis mony cu'trey men and manassies aftymes the inhabitantis of the said town and burgh ; and thairfoir said Souerane Lord wt. auise foirsaid, for help of the comoun welth of the said burgh, and support of the inhabitantis thairof, hes given and grantit lyk as his heires wt. auise forsaidis, gevis and grantis license, fredome, and libertie to the provost, bailleis, inhabitantis, and communitie of the said burgh of Vchtirardour to hald zeirlie ane frie fair and m'cat day upoun the 25th day of November nix to cum, and to co'tinew

zeirlie thairefter in all tymes cu'ing, declarand expresslie be thir p'ntis that all or Souerane Lordis liegis may resort and repair thairto for bying and selling of all guidis and m'chendise thairintill, quhairby the policie of the said burgh may the better incres, and that the liegeis also may haif the better eisement and intertertenigment for decora'un of the realme; and ordainis l'res of publica'un to be direct hereupon in form as effeiris."

This fair—the date being transferred by the change of style to 6th December—though shorn of its former importance, is still held. It was the day for reckoning and paying yearly accounts in the town and district, and was until lately a large cattle market.

A proclamation was made against the Clan Gregour on 31st January, 1611, whereby "His Majestie, in his accustomat dispositioun to clemencie and mercye being weele willing to showe favour to suche of thame who be some notable service shall gif proffe and testimonie of the haitrent and detestation which they haif of the wicked doingis of that unhappy race, and wilbe content to leve heireafter under the obedience of His Majestie's lawis, and also knowing perfytlie that a grite many of thame who ar now imbarqued in that rebellious societie and fellowship haif rathar bene induciet thairunto by the crueltie of the chiftanes

and ringleidaris of the same societie, then be ony dispositioun and inclinatioun of their awne": the Lords in these circumstances promise that if any person of the name of M'Gregour shall slay another of the same name of as good rank as himself, he shall have a free pardon for all his faults, on finding caution to answer to the laws thereafter. Further, if any other person shall slay Duncane M'Ewne M'Gregour, now called the Laird, or Robert Abroch M'Gregour, or Johnne Dow M'Allaster M'Gregour, or Callum M'Gregour of Coull, or Duelchay M'Gregour, or M'Robert M'Gregour, his brother, then such slayer of any of the said persons, or of any other of that race shall have a reward in money according to the quality of the person slain—the least sum to be 100 merks, and that for chieftains £1000 a-piece. Proclamation hereof is to be made at the Market Crosses of Dumbartane, Striviling, Downe in Monteith, Glasgu, and Auchtirardour. Letters were also directed to be issued charging by proclamation at the Market Crosses at Striviling, Dumbartane, Perth, Auchtirardour, and Downe in Monteith, all and sundry not to reset the said Clan Gregour, or their

goods and gear, under pain of being punished as partakers with them in their wicked deeds.

"Johnne, Earl of Tullibardin, binds and obliges himself to make answerable to the laws all persons dwelling on his lands, and to this effect to enter them before the Council when charged, conform to the general band."[1]

No doubt the broken men referred to in the Act of 1581 included the Clan Gregor, and the directing of the proclamation of letters against them at the Cross of Auchterarder was to strike terror in the locality of their misdoings.

The predatory incursions of the M'Gregors and other caterans of the Highlands into the towns of Strathearn are graphically described in the "Poetical Testament of Duncan Laideus *alias* Makgregour," one of their number, who flourished in the sixteenth century:—

"Fair weill, Stratherne, maist cumlie for to knaw,
Plenisit with plesand policie preclair,
Of touris and townis standand fair in raw;
I ruggit thy ribbis quhill oft gart them rair,
Gar thy wyffis, if thow will do na mair,
Sing my *dirige* efter *usum Sarum*,
For oftymes I gart thame alarum."[2]

[1] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.* Vol. IX., p. 125.
[2] *Black Book of Taymouth.*

After the Act of Parliament establishing the fair, there is little reference in contemporary records to Auchterarder. The Castle and Barony continued in possession of the noble family of Perth, which, during the eventful years of 1715 and 1745, exercised its influence, not without effect, in the district in favour of the exiled family. One of the most memorable events in the history of Auchterarder was the burning of the town in January, 1716, by the Earl of Mar, after the Battle of Sheriffmuir, in order to prevent shelter to the Duke of Argyll's army, which in pursuit had to encamp amidst the scene of desolation. This was an impolitic act, and calculated to exasperate the public mind against the exiled family. The burning was accompanied by great hardship, having been done during the depth of winter in a snow storm. The sufferers, after great delay and protracted litigation, succeeded in obtaining payment from the Exchequer of a pecuniary consideration, called the "burning money," in respect of their losses.

After the Act for the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in 1748 the portion of Auchterarder strictly burghal ceased to have titles completed in the burgage form. Until that date titles were made

up on burgage holding and resignations made in favour of the Bailies of Auchterarder, who probably received their appointment from the family of Perth, the proprietors of the adjoining Barony. No burgh register existed, and the instruments were somewhat anomalously recorded in the Particular Register of Sasines. A difficulty was presented as to completing titles when there were no Bailies to receive resignations or give infeftments; and so late as 1832 a petition was presented to the Court of Session praying the Court to appoint Bailies to the burgh of Auchterarder to give infeftment. The then proprietor of the Barony, conceiving this was derogatory to his rights as alleged superior, entered appearance, and the petition was withdrawn on the superior offering to give a charter of the lands in question to complete the title.

The Barony of Auchterarder continued in the possession of the Perth family until its attainder after the death of James, Duke of Perth, when the lands passed into the hands of the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates. Under their administration a good deal was done for the improvement of the place. The Commissioners encouraged the

manufacture of linen, and they laid out the lands of Borland Park into convenient divisions, erecting cot-houses thereon for the soldiers who had been engaged in the German War. They also made a grant of the Girnal House of Auchterarder for the benefit of the inhabitants. The lands were restored to the Perth family in 1784, and were disposed of by Lord Perth shortly thereafter; the Castle and the adjoining lands of Castlemains becoming the property of the late John Malcolm, Esq., while the remainder of the Barony was purchased by the Hon. Basil Cochrane, by whose trustees it was sold in 1831 to the late Lieutenant-Colonel James Hunter, who erected a mansion-house thereon. He died in 1874, leaving the estate to his nephew, Major Patrick Hunter, who, in 1887, sold it to the late James Reid, Esq., Lord Dean of Guild of Glasgow, and it is now possessed by his trustees.

The Castle of Auchterarder, which is situated about a quarter of a mile to the north of the town, though not of large dimensions, must have been a place of considerable strength. It was surrounded by a moat, the traces of which are still visible. The only remaining fragment is a part of the donjon keep. A carved stone is built into the

wall. Through exposure it is very much defaced, but it represents a warrior seated in a chariot, and is supposed to be Roman. The wall is nine feet thick. Some years ago the draw-well of the Castle, built around with masonry, and of considerable depth, was discovered. The Castle is said to have been entire until the end of last century, when a vandal farmer took it down to build farm offices.

A Common of upwards of two hundred acres in extent is situated to the west of the town, over which the inhabitants from time immemorial exercised a right of pasturage. A Process of Division was raised before the Court of Session in 1808 by the Honourable Basil Cochrane, then proprietor of the Barony. This process was wakened in 1814, and again in 1841. Defences were lodged for the portioners and feuars, and thereafter by the inhabitants, on the ground that, as the Common was a pertinent of a royal burgh, it was indivisible, and the Act for the division of commons did not apply. Litigation followed, and ultimately, in 1860, a Bill was brought into Parliament and carried through for the vesting of the Common for the benefit of the town in a set of

Commissioners. Under the Muir Improvement Act, 1860, the Common was reclaimed by the Commissioners, being drained, trenched, and fenced. The debt incurred in the reclamation is nearly wiped out, and it now forms a valuable source of public revenue. The careful and economic conduct of the Commissioners since the Act was passed, by which such a favourable result has been attained, is deserving of all praise, and the gratitude of future generations.

In 1894 the ratepayers resolved to adopt the Burgh Police Act, and the affairs and management of the town are now entrusted to Police Commissioners.

Having given this retrospect of the civil history of Auchterarder, we shall now advert to a few prominent facts in its ecclesiastical annals.

The first notice we have of the Church of Auchterarder is in the foundation charter by Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, dated in 1200, in favour of the Abbey of Inchaffray. By that charter he granted the Church of St. Meckessock of Eochterardeour, and the four other Churches of Aberuthven, Madderty, Strageath, and Kinkell. This grant was subsequently confirmed, and the

additional churches added thereto of Dunning, Monzievaird, Fowlis, and Kilbryde.[1]

As already stated, King Alexander II. granted the teind of his duties of Auchterarder, and, by a subsequent charter, amongst other grants he confirmed the grant of these churches to Inchaffray.

William the Lion executed a similar confirmation of the grant of the Churches of Madderty, Kinkell, and Auchterarder.

In virtue of these grants the teinds of the Church of Auchterarder were drawn by the Abbey of Inchaffray, but, as a condition, the Abbey had to provide divine ordinances in the Parish Church, and the cure accordingly was served by a vicar. The church and parish were within the Diocese of Dunblane. The old parish church is situated about half a mile to the north of the town, and, though roofless, is standing nearly entire. It is a long, narrow building with no architectural beauty. The foundation cross—a long slab with a Latin cross thereon—was, a number of years ago, exhumed, and now stands within the walls; while the baptismal font, which until lately stood at the western entrance, was recently removed for safe custody to

[1] *Liber Insule Missarum.*

the new parish church within the town. The old bell is also there. Although small, it gives forth a very sweet and clear sound, and bears the impress of antiquity. From the titles of the Perth Estate, including the Barony of Auchterarder, the late Duke of Perth was vested in "sancta campana de St. Kessog"—the holy bells of St. Kessog.[1]

The Church of Auchterarder was dedicated to St. Mackessog, who was also patron saint of Luss and Comrie. He flourished in the sixth century, and his day of commemoration was the tenth of March. His legend and office are given under that date in the Breviary of Aberdeen.[2] Southward from the church a few hundred yards there is a perennial spring still bearing the name of Mackessog's Well, and which until recent times was resorted to for the healing virtue of its waters. After the Reformation the Saint's day was kept on the 10th of March, O.S., as one of the principal fairs of the town, and so continued until a recent period.

[1] Crown Charter of Resignation in favour of James Drummond of Perth. *Register of the Great Seal.* Vol. XCIII., No. 36. 12th February, 1731.

[2] *Breviarium Aberdonense.* 10 Martii.

In the Roll or *Taxatio*, made up by Boyamund in 1275, in the Pontificate of Gregory X. (commonly called Bagimont's Roll), of teinds collected in Scotland for recovery of the Holy Land, we find that payments were made by the Vicar of Auchterarder of eighteen shillings, and by the Vicar of Aberuthven, seven shillings. There were received in the remaining parishes of the Diocese of Dunblane, within the present Presbytery of Auchterarder, the following sums:—

The Abbot of Inchaffray, twenty-four pounds thirteen shillings and three pence.

The Church of Strowan, fifty shillings.

The Church of Glendevon, sixteen shillings.

The Church of Muthill, twenty-eight shillings and four pence.

The Vicar of Dunning, twelve shillings.

The Vicar of Gask, five shillings.

The Vicar of Fowlis, seventeen shillings and four pence.

The Vicar of Strageath, twenty-eight shillings.

The Vicar of Comrie, twenty-four shillings.

The Church of Trinity-Gask, thirty-five shillings and nine pence.

In the Diocese of Dunkeld.

Vicar of Crieff, five shillings.

Church of Madderty, fifty-three shillings and six pence.[1]

The old church appears to have been used as a place of worship until about the time of Charles I.

[1] *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum; Theiner; Romae, Typis Vaticanis, 1864*, p. 115.

The tradition is that the roof fell in on a Sunday after the congregation had left, and were returning on the Brae of Powhillock to Auchterarder. While the old church continued to be the church of the parish, there was, at an early period, and anterior to the Reformation, a chapel in the town of Auchterarder where the present parish church stands. The croft at the back is still named the Chapel Croft. The northern part of the present parish church and the steeple were erected about the middle of the seventeenth century, the steeple being built of stones taken from the old Castle of Kincardine, dismantled after the siege in 1646. The southern portion of the church was added in 1784.

A mistake has crept in and been perpetuated in ascribing the dedication of the old church to St. Kentigern, otherwise St. Mungo. Dr. Rankin in his interesting and otherwise accurate Account of the Ancient Churches of Strathearn, refers to this dedication, and endeavours to account for it by supposing that there may have been an altar or side chapel dedicated to St. Mungo in the Church of St. Mackessog, but there is nothing to warrant such an assumption.[1] There

[1] *Chronicles of Strathearn*, p. 45.

is neither a side chapel on the outside of the building nor room within its narrow walls for a side altar, and there is no historical evidence to support such a theory. The error appears to have originated in a random statement contributed to the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*,[1] and perpetuated by other writers, notably by Walcot in his *Scoti Monasticon*, and by Bishop Forbes in his preface to the Life of St. Kentigern.[2]

The dedication of the chapel which was in the town where the parish church stands is likewise said to have been to St. Mungo. This is also erroneous. The chapel was dedicated to Our Lady. This appears from a charter dated 3rd December, 1477, by Simon Wylde, burgess of the Burgh of Auchterarder, in favour of Agnes Wylde, his brother's daughter, and John Young, her husband, of two crofts on the north side of the burgh. One of the crofts is described as "Illa proxima capelle nostre Domine," and the reddendo is "servicio et sustentacione dicte capelle sex solidos vsualis monete Scocie annui

[1] Perth 290.

[2] *Hist. of Scotland.* Vol. V., p. 90.

reditus annuatim." This shows that not only was the chapel dedicated to Our Lady, but a stipend of six shillings Scots was imposed upon the adjacent croft for its service and upkeep. Sir Alexander Hyrdman, priest, had then the next croft on the west. It is evident that while the Church of St. Mackessog was the parish church, there was a pre-Reformation chapel within the town; and while the cure of the parish church was served by a parochial curate appointed by the Abbey of Inchaffray, the burgh chapel had also a chaplain. Sir David Cardney was curate of the parish church in 1520, while Sir William Ewinsone was at the same time chaplain. In 1584 the chapel-yard was used for holding the Burgh Courts, a cognition for giving infeftment having been then held in it. Dr. Rankin appears to suppose that the present parish church dates only from 1660. The present church was built about that time, but replaced the old Chapel of Our Lady of unknown antiquity.

Although neither the old or new churches of Auchterarder were dedicated to St. Mungo, he had a certain connection with the parish, as out of the lands of Craigrossie dues were paid to St. Mungo's

altar in Glasgow.[1] From this fact the blunder of ascription of dedication may have arisen.

There is incorporated with the parish of Auchterarder the eastern portion of the parish of Aberuthven. Aberuthven was one of the earliest ecclesiastical foundations in Scotland. It was dedicated to St. Cathan, Bishop and Confessor, who flourished in the eighth century. His festival was held on the 17th of May.[2] The Churches of Kilchattan, in Bute, and Fortingall, in Perthshire, were also dedicated to him. Aberuthven was one of the churches appropriated to the Abbey of Inchaffray by the foundation charter of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, before referred to. The cure was served by a vicar appointed by that house. In the charter it is named "Ecclesia Sancti Kattani de Abbyrothueuen." This charter was confirmed, and other churches granted by a subsequent charter of the Earl Gilbert. Alexander II. confirmed this last charter. Earl Malise confirmed by charter the gifts of his grandfather, Gilbert, and the confirmation of his father, Robert, Earl of Strathearn, and granted four merks of the rents

[1] *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, I., 2.; and *Historians of Scotland*, V., p. 357.

[2] *Brev. Aberdonense*, 17° Maii.

of his lands of Aberuthven, which the Canons of Inchaffray were accustomed to receive previous to the year 1247.[1]

Aberuthven continued a separate parish from Auchterarder until some time after the Reformation. It was united to Auchterarder prior to 21st February, 1618, and the minister for some time thereafter occupied the manse and glebe of Aberuthven. The parish of Aberuthven included the Brae of Foswell, south of the Ruthven, now partly situated in the parish of Auchterarder and partly in Blackford. Kincardine Castle, the seat of the Earls of Montrose, was within the bounds. Aberuthven was the parish church where that family worshipped, and where their remains were interred. The walls of the Church of Aberuthven —a long, narrow building like that of Auchterarder—are still standing. On the south side, and partly within the area, a four-square building, named "the Aisle," has been erected as a mausoleum for the ducal family of Montrose. The last received within its walls was James, Duke of Montrose, who died in 1836. This aisle was designed by Adam, the eminent architect.

[1] *Liber Insule Missarum*, 26.

At the east end of the church, on the gospel side of the site of the high altar, there is a recess in the wall, forming an ambry of elegant form. It is evident there has been a door upon it from the iron sockets which still remain. This was used for holding the church utensils. Worship was continued in Aberuthven Church until the end of the seventeenth century, as the funeral sermon of the Marchioness of Montrose was preached in it on 23rd January, 1673, by the Rev. Arthur Ross, the then parson of Glasgow, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. His daughter Anna, Lady Balmerino, was the mother of the gallant Lord Balmerino, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1746.

After the Reformation it was proposed by the General Assembly, in 1581, that the Presbytery should be erected as the Presbytery of Crieff. The Assembly, on 8th April, 1593, "ordaines the Presbyterie of Dumblane to be transportit to Ochtirardour, and ordainis the Presbyteries of Stirling and Perth to establishe the said Presbyterie in Auchtirardour upon Thursday come xv. days," being 19th April, 1593. It was changed to Muthill prior to 18th January,

1633; but Auchterarder was resumed before 1638.

At the Reformation the parish of Auchterarder was supplied by David Murye, reader, in 1567. The first Protestant minister in Auchterarder was John Hamyll. He was previously vicar of Dunning, having succeeded there to his uncle, Sir John Hamyll, who from his title was likely vicar of Dunning in the old church, and conformed to the new opinions. John Hamyll was presented by King James VI. to the Vicarage of Auchterarder on 28th June, 1568, and to the Vicarage of Aberuthven on 1st March, 1582. He had also charge of Kinkell and Dunning.

John Graham was minister of Auchterarder in 1636. He was a member of the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, at which the famous James, Marquis of Montrose, was representative elder from the Presbytery of Auchterarder, he being then on the Covenanting side. Mr Graham was deposed by the Commission of the Assembly on 27th November, 1644, for speaking once to the Marquis of Montrose.[1] The sentence was taken off by the Assembly, 8th February, 1645; but he was again deposed by the Assembly, 6th July, 1649. His

[1] *Guthrie's Memoirs.*

prelatic predilections were attributed to his wife being a descendant of John Hamilton, the last Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews.

James Drummond, son of the Rev. James Drummond, minister of Fowlis, and a near relative of the Earl of Perth, was successively incumbent of Auchterarder and of Muthill. He was consecrated Bishop of Brechin on Christmas Day, 1684, in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood. He is reported to have been a man of strict Protestant principles, and a decided opponent of King James's interference with the Church, though he, like most of his brethren, was a keen supporter of hereditary monarchy, and took a decided part with King James when the most of his courtiers deserted him. Bishop Drummond was deprived of his bishopric at the Revolution, having preached at Brechin for the last time on Sunday, 18th April, 1688.[1]

David Freebairn, the son of the minister of Fowlis-Wester, was minister of Auchterarder from 1680 to 1686, when he became minister of Dunning. He was deprived by the Privy Council, 4th September, 1689. He went to Edinburgh, and was consecrated a bishop of the Scottish Episcopal

[1] Black's *History of Brechin*, pp. 97-98.

Church, 7th October, 1722, and died Primus and the oldest Presbyter in Scotland, 24th December, 1739, in his eighty-seventh year, and sixty-fourth of his ministry. "He was of blameless conversation and sweet temper, while he was a vigilant preacher and a successful physician." His son Robert was a bookseller and printer in Edinburgh, and a staunch adherent of the Stuart family.

Andrew Duncan, D.D., was minister of Auchterarder from 1781 to 1802, when he was translated to Ratho. He was Principal Clerk to the General Assembly, and Moderator of the Assembly in 1824.

THE CASTLE OF KINCARDINE,
IN STRATHEARN

Engraved by A McINTOSH

DRAWN BY MR CARRICK.

A Prospect of the ruins of Kincardine Castle.

THE CASTLE OF KINCARDINE, IN STRATHEARN

BEAUTIFUL in situation the massive walls of the ancient Castle of Kincardine stood frowning over that glen. It was the principal seat of the noble family of Graham—Earls, Marquises, and Dukes of Montrose. From its position and the solidity of its masonry, which ten days defied the artillery of Middleton, it must have been a place of considerable strength. It was quadrangular in form, the walls being fifteen feet thick, and of large dimensions.

The estate came to the Graham family from Malise, Earl of Strathearn, as a dowry to his sister Amabil, on her marriage with Sir David Graham, circa 1250, when by his charter he gave, granted, and confirmed "Amabilie sorori mee, ad

ipsam maritandam, totam terram de Kynkardyn in Kather leuenas, que est juxta Hucterhardour, sine aliquo retinemento, in bosco, in plano, in pratis, in pascuis, in moris et mariscis, in stangnis et molendinis."[1]

Kincardine Castle was frequently honoured by visits from the Sovereign. Queen Mary stayed at Kincardine and Tullibardine on a journey which she made to the North in 1562. Having left Edinburgh on the 11th, she continued at Stirling till the 18th of August, when she set out from thence with a part of her train, and dined and supped at Kincardine. On the return journey, leaving St. Johnston on the 16th November, she "slept at Tulliebarne." On the 17th she proceeded after dinner to Drummond. Twenty years later these castles were again favoured with a Royal visitor—King James VI. The visit to Tullibardine happened in August, 1584, and the motive of it was characteristic of that monarch. Moysie's Memoirs, which chronicle the visit, narrate that the King had been living ten days at Ruthven "or ever he knew there was sex houssis infectit in Perthe, his seruandis being theare; and thairfor

[1] *Liber Insule Missarum.* Appendix xxxiii.

with a few number the samyn nicht departed to Tullibardin, and from that to Sterling, leavand his haill housald and seruandis enclosit in Ruthven." The visit to Kincardine is inferred from a letter written by Thomas, tutor of Cassillis, to the Laird of Barnbarroch, dated 10th October, 1585 :—"As for newis, it is trew my Lord Arrane was to have been in Kincarne upone Saterday last, and thair to have given his presens to the King, and the King thocht guid to stay him thairof for the ambassadouris causs being with His Majestie, sua my Lord hes nocht presentit the King as yet."

In 1579, the Earl of Athol, Chancellor of Scotland, stayed at Kincardine on his way from Stirling, and suddenly took ill and died there. As usual at the time when cases occurred of sudden death, grave suspicions arose, which were not, however, substantiated, that his death was caused by poison given him in food at Stirling.

James Graham, the great Marquis of Montrose, was born in 1612. There is no record of the place of his birth, and although tradition assigns it to the town of Montrose, it may have taken place at the Castle of Kincardine, the principal mansion of the family. Be that as it may, he spent his

youthful years there. His mother was Margaret Ruthven, the eldest daughter of William, first Earl of Gowrie, and brother of the Earl of the Conspiracy. She died before her eldest son completed his sixth year, and was buried at the Church of Aberuthven upon the 15th day of April, 1618.

The following letter of Earl John, addressed from his Castle of Mugdock, in Strathblane, to his factor of Kincardine, in Strathearn, is interesting:—

"Laurence Graham.

"I doubt not but you have been careful in causing haste the making of my daughter Beatrix her gown as I directed you. I have sent this bearer, Harry Blackwood, to bring her to me, as he will shew you. It is my will, also, that the tapestry in my upper chamber in Kincardine be taken down, and packed well, to come to me at Mugdock. I have sent Margaret Stirling and Robert Taylor word to be careful of it, which you shall see well done, and send a good carriage horse with it, with all expedition, and send Robert Taylor to convoy it. Further, it is my will that you deliver to Harry Blackwood eight bolls of meal and four stone of cheese. From Mugdock the 28th July, 1625. MONTROSE."

"I have directed, as I told you that I would do, my two grey hackneys to be put to the grass in Kincardine, and have directed Robert Mailer to wait on them. So, you shall answer him his boll (of meal) according to use and wont.

"To our servitor, Laurence Graham, factor of Kincardine. These."[1]

[1] Napier's *Life of Montrose.* Vol. I., p. 25.

Laurence Graham, the factor of Kincardine, had enjoyed that appointment for a considerable time. He was tutor of Callander, and bailie of the Burgh of Auchterarder. On 27th April, 1596, we find a complaint made against him to the Privy Council by James Watt as follows :—

" Patrick Watt, his son, having in tack certain acres of land of the burgh of Auchtirardour from Laurence Grahame, tutor of Callender, bailie of the said burgh, the said Laurence hes maist outragiouslie ejectit him thairfra, and hes spuilyeit him of his haill plennessing, elding, pleuch, corne, and crope, and thairthrow hes putt him, his wyffe, and bairnis to beggarie. The said Patrick having thereupon rased letters of spulyie quhilk is depending befoir the Lordis of Counsale and Sessioun, and also rased lettres of lawsouirtie for finding of caution, conform to the ordour, the said Laurence, seeing the caus lyke to gang aganis him, hes upon the fyft day of this instant moneth of Aprile maist violentlie putt handis on the said Patrick, and band him by the gairdeis, and tuke him as giff he had been ane thieff, and thaireftir putt him in the pitt within the place of Kincardin, quhair he gettis nather intertenyment nor sicht, the said place being ane waist house, for the tyme keepit be Andro Lundy, greif to Johnne, Erll of Montrois."[1]

Thomas Smythe, at Aberuthven, shod the horses when the family was living at Kincardine. His account, dated 29th September, 1620, contains an item of " twa gang of shoon to Lord James's two nags." At this time the future hero had about

[1] *Register of the Privy Council.* Vol. IV.

completed his eighth year. The blacksmith's accounts are continued for successive years in the same style. Henry Blackwood was the Master of Horse to his father. This smithy at Aberuthven was perpetually visited by "the grey mare, grey courser, grey hackney, the brown horse, the sorral naig, the pockmanty naig, and the horse named the Grey Oliphant." When only twelve years of age, in 1624, we find the smith charging six shillings for the dressing of Lord James's fencing swords. At the same period a like sum is disbursed to James Myln for mending my Lord James's bow.

The smithy at Aberuthven referred to was situated in the open space at the entry to the church, and the honest smith, who, besides exercising the calling, bore the surname of his trade, was the progenitor of the Smiths of Tullibardine and Lawhill, who still continue there the craft of their forefather. It may also be noticed that this smithy must have been considered a notable place in the district, as it displaced the ancient name of Aberuthven, and substituted that of Smiddyhaugh, by which it was known until recently, when the old name was restored.

John, Earl of Montrose, died at Kincardine

Castle on 14th November, 1626, and was buried at the Church of Aberuthven on the 3rd of January following. Among the friends assembled on this occasion were:—John, Earl of Wigtown, Montrose's cousin-german, his mother being Lady Lilias Graham, the only sister of the departed Earl; Lord Napier, Montrose's brother-in-law; Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, his other brother-in-law; Sir William Graham of Braco, only brother to the deceased Earl; Sir Robert Graham of Morphie; Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, great-grandfather of Dundee; David Graham of Fintrie; John Graham of Orchill; Sir Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie; and John Graham of Balgowan.

The burial was carried out in no niggardly scale for the eight weeks over which it extended. Particulars are given in the account of the household expenses of "Diet and ordinary expenses of Lord James's householding in Kincardine, beginning the 12th day of November, and continuing to Monday, 8th January, 1627, his Lordship being present in Kincardine the whole space, accompanied with his honourable friends." It has been remarked, "whatever may have happened before, we may

venture to say that so rich a bill of fare has never been produced in Scotland in these degenerate days upon any one occasion either at mourning or at feast time." The guests who were invited to pay respect to the memory of the deceased, and to participate in the grief on the melancholy occasion of his obsequies, brought contributions in kind to cheer the hearts and raise the spirits of the mourning concourse. We find, there was presented by my Lord Stormont two birsell fowls, six partridges, and twelve plovers. There was presented by the Laird of Lawers a black-cock, five moor-fowls, and the fourth of a hynd; and presented by Glenorquie a grey hynd. In addition to these complimentary gifts, provisions of all kinds—beef, mutton, lamb, veal, ham, capons, geese, and other poultry, and wild meat or game of every description, were purchased for the occasion in great abundance. The wild meat consisted of moor-fowls, ptarmigan, black-cocks, and grey hens, capercailzies, partridges, wild geese, plovers, and wood-cocks. To these were added, from the pattie larder, cheese, butter, eggs, herrings, spices, and confectionery. To the viands of the table were added liquors in

great abundance. The claret wine and the white wine are reckoned by puncheons, and an enormous quantity of "Easter ale" was also consumed. Amidst this scene of festive mourning the father of the great Marquis was consigned to his last resting-place in the little Church of Aberuthven. It is matter for melancholy reflection to institute a comparison with the first treatment of the remains of his illustrious son.[1]

In the after life of the Marquis, and before he entered on the troublous sea upon which he finally embarked, we find numerous entries in the household accounts of viands and liquors, continued in the same style of regal expenditure, while the cost of apparel showed the magnificence of the attire of himself and his dependents.

It will be interesting to the townsfolk of Auchterarder to be informed that when the young Earl was lying dangerously ill at St. Andrews, while attending the University, beside moor-fowl sent to him from Orchill, he had also trouts supplied from the Ruthven, in his own Glen of Kincardine.[2]

The Earl, while exercising such munificent

[1] Napier's *Life of Montrose.* Vol. I., p. 25.
[2] Napier's *Life of Montrose.* Vol. I., p. 39.

hospitality at the Castle of Kincardine, was not forgetful of the poor, besides being kind to minstrels and pipers. When attending the Kirk of Blackford the poor were liberally remembered; when residing at Orchill he made by his largesse the hearts of the domestic servants there glad; and we find him bestowing upon the servants and nurse in Machanie three pounds four shillings.

Montrose at first inclined to the Presbyterian side. He was returned as representative elder by the Presbytery of Auchterarder at the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638. Soon thereafter he changed sides, and became the stalwart supporter of Episcopacy and Divine Right, a course which proved equally fatal to himself and to his ancient Castle of Kincardine.

It is outwith our design to follow the Marquis in his glorious achievements in the Civil War; but to return to Kincardine, we find that his brother-in-law, Lord Napier, in company with his cousin, George Drummond of Balloch, and burgess of Auchterarder, and the Laird of M'Nab, descended into Strathearn and occupied the Castle with about fifty men. He hurriedly put it into a state of

defence. General Middleton besieged the place in person with his army, consisting of eighteen hundred foot and eleven hundred horse, and battered the walls with cannon, having brought a number of great ordnance from Stirling Castle. For ten days the Castle was held by the small but resolute garrison, and might have held out longer had not the well failed. With the prospect of death before them in the event of the place being taken, Napier and Balloch contrived to break through the enemy, who surrounded the Castle on all sides. A page of the name of John Graham, in attendance upon Lord Napier, well acquainted with the localities of Kincardine, undertook to be their guide. When the moon was down, Napier and Balloch issued from the Castle by a small postern, where they found Graham waiting for them with three horses. They mounted, and, passing quietly through the enemy's force, they escaped, and reached Montrose in safety in the north. On the morning after their escape, the Castle was surrendered on capitulation, and thirty-five of the garrison were sent to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. General Middleton ordered the remaining twelve of those who had surrendered to

be shot at a post, and the Castle to be burned, which was done accordingly on the 16th of March, 1646. It now stands a melancholy ruin, with only a portion of a wall remaining. At the end of last century there were greater remains existing. The accompanying engraving, from a sketch made by the late Mr Carrick, of Kildeis, represents the Castle as it appeared in 1784. There is a large yew tree at the Mains farmhouse, near the old Castle. It is of great age, and probably coeval with the Castle.

The Montrose family seem to have been crippled by the Civil War, and never regained their pristine position at Kincardine. Parts of their possessions there were alienated from time to time, and on 3rd March, 1703, Marquis James sold the greater part of the Brae of Foswell, and croft lands belonging to him in the Burgh of Auchterarder. The Castle and Barony of Kincardine remained, however, the property of the family until early in the present century, when it was sold to James Johnston, Esq., to whose grandson it now belongs. The only connection the present Duke has with the district is being owner of the aisle in the Parish Church of

Aberuthven, the last resting-place of the House of Montrose; while around it are the places of interment of cadets of the family of Graham, Orchill, Inchbrakie, Aberuthven, Balwhapple, and others of that ancient name.

> "Then as the manner of our country is,
> Be borne to burial in thy kindred's grave,
> Thou shalt be borne to that same ancient vault,
> Where all the kindreds of the Capulets lie."

THE TREATY OF AUCHTERARDER

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ARY OF LORRAINE, the widowed Queen of James V., proved, while Regent of Scotland, a prudent and wise ruler. Desirous to stem the tide of Reformation which rolled onwards, and anxious to do what she considered her duty for the support of the ancient Church, she was not, like her brothers, a bigot in her faith. She looked with a kindly eye on both her Catholic and Protestant subjects; but events would not allow her to remain a silent spectator of the conflict.

John Knox had come from Geneva and arrived in Perth. He preached the Reformed doctrines. The people, roused as by an electric spark, at once proceeded to the violent measure of destroying the religious houses which had for centuries adorned, and were the boast of St. Johnston.

The mass and other religious ceremonies and doctrines of the Catholic Church were denounced and proscribed. The Regent saw the approaching storm, and determined upon crushing it in the bud. Knox remained at Perth, where he was joined by the Congregation. The Queen resolved on immediate proceedings. The Earls of Arran, Argyll, and Athol were commanded to come to her, with the assistance of all their friends and followers. The French soldiers then in Scotland were also ordered to come in. She thought to surprise Perth, but, notwithstanding every exertion, a week elapsed before the necessary preparations could be made, and the artillery brought forward. The Earl of Glencairn, with the Lords Ochiltree and Boyd and other gentlemen of the West, in the Protestant interest, were on their way to Perth at the head of 1200 horse and 1300 foot. The Queen had advanced with her army to Auchterarder, where she encamped. She was desirous to enter into negotiations with the Reformers at Perth ere intelligence should reach them of the approach of Glencairn. With that view she sent to Perth demanding that some person should be sent to her camp in order to negotiate with the

Earl of Arran and M. d'Ozell concerning some reasonable agreement. In obedience to her request, Erskine of Dun, Ogilvy of Inverarity, and Scott of Abbotshall were sent to Auchterarder. They were courteously received by the Queen, who required that the town of Perth should be open to Her Majesty, and all other matters referred to her discretion. The gentlemen of the deputation replied that they had no warrant to go into such proposals, but that if the Queen would promise nobody would be disturbed for the last commotion in Perth, and if she would suffer the religion begun to go forward, and would leave the town at her departure free from French soldiers, then they would deal with their associates that Her Majesty should be obeyed in all things. Nothing, however, was formally agreed to. The deputation had scarcely left Auchterarder when the Queen was informed that the Earl of Glencairn had passed by her guards, and was in full march to Perth. She despatched the Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St. Andrews (afterwards the Regent Moray), and Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, but before these three Commissioners arrived at Perth, the Earl of Glencairn

had reached that city. His reinforcement had made the party of Reform more difficult to deal with. Knox expostulated with the Commissioners on what he said was a dereliction of duty in pressing the Queen's conditions, seeing that they were considered favourers of a Reformation. The Commissioners answered that their hearts were still constant with their brethren, but because they had promised the Queen to endeavour to bring about an agreement, they could not falsify their word; but if the Queen did violate the least jot of what should be agreed upon, they would join themselves openly with the Congregation. On this promise being made, Mr Knox says the preachers had much ado persuading the multitude to give its consent thereto. The Commissioners returned to Auchterarder, where the Treaty was concluded on 29th May, 1559. The articles were:

I.—That both armies should be disbanded, and the town of Perth left open to the Queen.

II.—That none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of the late alteration in religion.

III.—That no Frenchman should enter the town nor come within three miles, and that when the Queen retired no French garrison should be left in the town.

IV.—That all other controversies be referred to the next Parliament.

The next day the Congregation departed from Perth, after John Knox in a sermon had exhorted them to thank God for stopping the effusion of blood, but at the same time not to faint in supporting such as should afterwards be persecuted. Although the Treaty was entered into, it was not observed. Perhaps none of the parties were sincere in desiring that it should be adhered to.[1]

Had Mary lived, it is difficult to say what course, with the powerful support of the House of Guise, the Reformation might have taken in Scotland; but she was destined not long to survive her visit to Auchterarder in sovereign state, surrounded by the nobles of the realm and accompanied by an armed host. In the following year she died at an early age, and not long after three of her five powerful brothers were also removed by death from the cares and conflicts of this world.

This was the first State recognition of Protestantism in Scotland. Auchterarder may boast of being the place where the recognition took place.

It is notable that all the great ecclesiastical movements in Scotland should be identified with Auchterarder. First, we have this Treaty in 1559,

[1] Knox's Hist. Keith's Hist.

the preliminary to the downfall of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1717, the action of the Auchterarder Presbytery, in enunciating what was called the Auchterarder Creed, resulted in the rise, in 1732, of the Secession Church. In 1834 the stand taken by the Presbytery, in asserting the powers of the Veto Act, culminated in the Disruption of 1843.

DECREET OF LYNING IN FAVOUR OF JOHN MALAR, BURGESS OF OCHTERARDOUR, 1615

DECREET OF LYNING IN FAVOUR OF JOHN MALAR, BURGESS OF OCHTERARDOUR, 1615

APART from its style and Scottish legal phraseology, the following decreet of lyning is interesting, as showing that, in the time of King James VI., Auchterarder, while possessing a Provost and Bailies, had a Town Clerk, a Court-House, and Register of the Burgh Court. The house, yard, and half croft therein referred to, still belong to John Malar's descendant.

"In curia burgi de Ochtirardour tenta in pretorio eiusdem per Henricum Drummond de Balloche et Robertum Grahame, Ballivos eiusdem, nono die mensis Octobris, 1615.

"Quhilk day comperit personalie Jon Malar, son and air of vmquhill Lyonas Malar, burges of Ochtirardour, and producit ane brief direct at his instance furthe of our Soverane Lordis Chancellarie to the Provost, Bailyeis of the said brughe of Ochtirardour,

dewlie proclamit and indorrsatt conform to the ordour : Desyring that be the aithis of tuelf persones best and worthiest burges of the said bruche according to the lauwis of burrowis they sould lyne the hooss with the yaird and half croft of land belonging thairtill, pertening to the said Jon, lyand vpone the southe part of the said brughe, betuix the tenement of David Græme vpon the west, the tenement of Harie Drummond of Balloch vpon the eist, the vater of Lochie vpon the southe, and the common gait vpone the northe partis, fra vtheris landis and tenementis nixt adiacent thairtill, quhilk desyir the judge thocht ressonabill, and according to the directioun of the said brief, all parteis haveand or pretendand entres thairtill, be oppin proclamation at the bar being callit, and na partie oppon- and thairtill, the judge causit call the persones vnder vriten, and ressauit thair aithis solemlie to putt the said breif to dew execution, and to lyne the saidis house, croft, and tenement, and to part and devyid the saymn fra vtheris landis, and putt in merches tharin- till to stand for ever, to witt—Andro Patersone at the milne of the said brughe, William Fentoun, Jon Drummond of Kirkhill, elder ; Hendrie Jonstoun *alias* Clerk, James Græme, Andro Donaldsone, Jon Donaldsone, David Hiltoun, Robert Evin, Wright, Patrick Græme, Thomas Frence, and Alexander Barnet, all burgess of the said burghe ; quha being ressavit and sworne in judgement, past all togider with the said Jon Malar and David Graeme than instantlie, and sichtit the said land and tenement, and efter mature advysment and metting with cordis the said tenement fra the tenement of David Græme, haif all in ane voce lynit, methit, and merchit the samyn, and hes fixit in stanes to stand merches betuixt thame for ever, fra the said water of Lochie vpon the southe to the said commoun gaitt vpon the northe, comprehendinge the greine bak in the east syd of the said John Malar his half croft, within the said meithinge, to perteine to him heritablie for ever. Quhilk lyning,

meithing, and mercheinge, the said Jon Malar and David Græme autorisit, and tharefter the judge decernit to stand inviolabill conforme to the lawis of the brughe and the said breif. Quhair vpone the said Jon Malar askit act. Extractum de libro actorum dicte curie per me Patricium Drummond notarium publicum ac scribam eiusdem. PATRICIUS DRUMMOND."

THE WARLOCK OF THE KIRKTOUN OF AUCHTERARDER

THE WARLOCK OF THE KIRKTOUN OF AUCHTERARDER

THE Drummonds of the Kirktoun of Auchterarder appear to have been a troublesome family. One of them, John Drummond, came under the notice of the Privy Council of Scotland, and he and Duncan Neishe, Burgess of the Canongait, as his cautioner, had to grant bond for £500 not to harm David and Robert Grahame, sons of the late John Grahame of Callender.[1]

The fate of Alexander Drummond, probably the father of John, was a tragical one. Without being a practiser of witchcraft in the ordinary acceptation of the term, he used unlawful arts, which brought him within the reach

[1] *Register of the Privy Council*, 1st May, 1610.

of the Act of Parliament of Queen Mary, 1563. His crime appears to have been the using of charms for curing sickness both in men and cattle, which he did openly. The Kirk kept a careful eye over his proceedings, as we find the Kirk-Session of Perth, by injunctions, warned the brethren to watch the sayings and doings of "Alshander Drummond, suspected of unlawful airtes, charmes, and abuses of the people."[1]

The attention of the Church having been fixed upon poor Alexander, his course of mitigating or curing the diseases of his fellow-men or their cattle was shortly thereafter brought to a close. He appears to have been apprehended, conveyed to Dunblane, thereafter to Tillicoultry and Stirling, probably to be confronted with the witnesses against him. After emitting declarations at these places, he was taken to Edinburgh, and brought to trial in the High Court of Justiciary on 12th January, 1629, where, on 3rd July thereafter, he was found guilty and sentenced to death, and suffered accordingly at the Market Cross of Edinburgh.

[1] Perth Kirk-Session Records, 20th August, 1628.

The following is a record of the trial, as it appears in the Books of Adjournal:—

Curia Justiciariæ S.D.N. regis, tenta in prætorio de Edinburg tertio die mensis Julii, 1629, per Magistros Alexandrum Colville de Blair, et Jacobum Robertoun, Advocatum, Justiciarios Deputatos, &c.

Intran.

Alexander Drummond, indweller in the Kirktoun of Auchterarder. Dilatit of dyverse poyntis of sorcerie, witchcraft, charmeing, and cureing of dyverse seiknesses and diseases, whereby namelie of persones visseit wt. frenacies, madness, the falling evil, persones distractit in their wittis, and possessit with feirfull apparitiones, St. Anthone's fyre, the seikness or disease callit 'noli me tangere,' and of canceris, wormes, glengores, and dyverse utheris uncouth diseases, all done and practized by sorcerie, incantations, devillyshe charmeing, in manner specifiet and at length set down in his depositiones, and the depositiones of dyverse persones upone quhome the said cures war practized. Speciallie upone ane Abrahame Thomsoune, in Kirkcaldie; the Laird of M'Nab; James Afflek, merchand in Dundee; Christiane Dewar, dochter to David Dewar of Lassodie in Fodrikmure; the Laird of Corstoun Ramsay; James Neish, son to the guidman of Dubheids; John Walker in Overgorthie; John Hay in Reidfurd; Walter Buchanan, Burgess of Dumbarten; Robert Patoun, at Powmylne of Adie; Alex. Russell ther, and Laurence Russell his brother; William Baveredge, cordinner; Margaret Porterfield; Thomas Burne, younger, in Tillie-coutrie; Johnne Furd, smyt, in Culrois; Margaret Betuns, the spous of James Broun in Wester Weymes; John Crystie, sone to James Crystie thair; John Smyt, sone to Ard. Smyt in the Weymes; Johne Blith, in Wester Weymes; Johne Coudeit; James Kierieman, in Middle

Grange; [ ] Quhyte, sone to Robert Quhyte, elder, in Gart Quhynzanes; George Douglas, in Chapelhill of Logie Almond; Robert Andersone, brother to James Andersone, in Pittencrieff; Johne Trumble, son to Andrew Trumble, in Bromehill; James Huttone, within the parochin of Dunfermline; [ ] Davidson, in Dunfermline; Bessie Stirk, the spous of James Kellok; John Colene, younger, within the parochin of Delgatie; Bessie Cunninghame, the spous of Andrew Rowane, in Gask; Thomas Lyell, within the parochin of Crombie; Meriorie Wilsone, mother to David Stewart, in Dunfermline; William Kellok, in Lassodiemylne; the dochter of William Scotland; Nicol Dewar, in the paroche of Dunfermline, his wyfe, the wyfes sister of Laurence Walker, Robert Abercrombie, servitors to the Master of Colville; Thomas Burne, younger; and mony hundrethis of peoples, alsweill men, women, and children, as beistis. And be earding of ane quik cok in the grund, and of pleuch irnes upone merches betuix tua lords lands, for cureing of madness be sorcerie and witchcraft. As also being dilatit for ane manifest sorcerar and abusar thir fyftie zeirs by gane in cureing of all sort of diseases be sorcerie and witchcraft, and ane consulter with the devill and seiker of responses frome him; having also ane familiar spreit attending him to give him instructions in the practeis of all his diabolical and unlauchfull cures at length specifiet in his dittay.

Persewar.

Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Knyt Baronet, Advocat to our Soverane Lord for his hienes intreis.

Assise.

Williame Stirling of Airdoche; David Rollok, notter in Dynning; Robert Grahame of Pannellis; James Grahame of Drumfad; Harie Kippen of Drumakelles; James Patoun,

in Bellielisk ; John Thomson, in Glen of Glenageis ; John Walker, in Trwne ; Alex. Buchan, in Pitlandie ; Wm. Oliphant, at the Mylne of Gask ; Charles Campbell, in Burnside of Ogilvie ; Wm. Dow, in Letterbandochie ; Wm. Stewart, in Dalcroe ; Wm. Moncrieff, in Ardytie ; Thomas Glas, in Pittintieane.

The Advocat took instrumentis of the swearing of the assise. After reiding of the dittay and accusation of the pannel of the severall poyntis of sorcerie, witchcraft, mentioned therintill, my Lord Advocat took instrumentis thereupon and desyret the Judges' answer anent the relevancie thereof, wherethrow the assise may the mair conscientiously proceid in trying the facts and deidis of sorcerie and witchcraft committed be him in manner specifiet and set down thereintill.

The Judges finds the haill dittay relevant in the several poyntis and articles thereof *per se*. As also finds the last article anent the general relevant, being conjoined with ony ane of the perticuler articles of dittay. Whereupon my Lord Advocat askit instrumentis. My Lord Advocat for verification of the dittay in the perticuler articles thereof produced the pannells depositions, datit the 16 of October, the 17, 18, the 24, and 25 of October, 1628, and ratifeit be the pannell himself in presence of his Maiestie's Commissioners appointed be the Lords of the Secreit Counsell for his re-examination, datit the 12 of Januar, 1629. And siclyk, produced the uther depositiones of the parties examinat upone the severall articles, quhilkis war all reid in judghement in presence and audience of the said Alexander Drummond, against the qlk., he made na objection, except only in this, that the cures therein conteinit war nocht be sorcerie and witchcraft. Thairefter, the fyve severall depositiones made be the said Alexander Drummond upon the 16, 17, 18 days of October, at Dunblane, 1628, and at Waster Tillicoutrie upone

the 24 of October, 1628, and at Stirling, upone the xxv of October, 1628, and ratifeit before. the Commissioners upone the said 12 of Januar last, be the said Alexander, as said is, being judiciallie reid he of new again ratifeit the samyn in judgement in the haill perticulers mentionet theirintill. Qrupon my Lord Advocat askit instrumentis.

Thairefter the witnesses following, viz.:—Johne Heithrig, Walter Buchanane, Elspeth Loutefute, Mr Johne Friebairne, Johne Malcolme, James Buchane, Johne Walker, Johne Stobie, Williame Kellok, Wm. Baveredge, Ademe Hutton, Nicoll Dewar, James Oswald, John Smart, Laurence Walker, James Andersone, Katharene Walwoid, Margaret Adieson, Robert Davidsone, David Dewar, Johne Rowane, John Colene, John Lyell, and Christiane Gibsone, being all personallie pr'nt. ressauit sworne and examinat judiciallie and ther perticuler depositiones formerlie maid be thame remaining in proces, being reid over to ilk ane of thame as the samyn beirs, they and ilk ane of thame be their grit aithes declairit the haill former depositiones reid to thame and maid be thame as is conteinit in the writt to be of verratie. Quhairupone my Lord Advocat askit instrumentis, and in respeit of the verification above written, protestat for wilful error against the persones of assise gif they sould acquit the pannell of the sorcerie and witchcraft conteinit in his dittay.

Quhilkis persones of assise being ressauit sworne and admitted. Efter accusation of the said Alexander Drummond be dittay, of the several and perticuler crymes of sorcerie and witchcraft spe'it in his dittay, and verification of the samyn be the said Alexander Drummond, his own depositiones, and be the depositiones and testificationes uset and producet be his Maiesteis' advocat of the persones respectively above named, sworne and examinat judiciallie in presence of the pannell, Judges, and assise foresaid. The said

persones of assise removit altogether furth of Court to the assise house, where they be pluralitie of vottis first elected and choset the said Wm. Sterling of Ardoche in Chanceller, ressonet and voitit upone the hail poyntis geven up in dittay against the said Alexr., and verificationes and depositiones uset and producet be his Maiesteis' advocat for instructing thereof, as also with the depositiones and affirmationes of the persones judiciallie ressauit sworne and admittit in ther presence and audience.

Thairefter thay re-entered againe in Court, quhair they all in ane voce be the report and declaration of the said Chanceller, fand, prononcet and declairit the said Alexander Drummond to be fylet culpable and convict of the haill crymes of sorcerie, witchcraft, charmes, and incantationes conteinit in his dittay and depositiones producet for instructing thereof. Quhairupon his Maiesteis' advocat askit instrumentis. For the quhilkis caussis the saids Justices and Judges be the mouth of Johne M'Cairtour, dempster of Court, decernit and adjudget the said Alexander Drummond to be tane to ye Mercat Cross of Edinburg, and thair to be wirreit at ane stake quhill he be deid, and therefter his body to be brunt in asses, and all his movabel guids to be escheit and inbrocht to his Maiesteis' use as culpable and convict of the saidis crymes.

It is a matter for observation that the witnesses adduced against Alexander Drummond were mostly persons in the higher ranks of life, and who lived at a distance from him. One of the witnesses is Mr Freebairn, who was minister of Madderty from 1620 to 1657, and the father of Bishop Freebairn.

Although the trial was held in Edinburgh, the jurymen were selected from the neighbourhood of

Auchterarder. Like those upon whom Drummond had practised his arts, they were also of the better class, and were probably chosen as possessing higher education and intelligence, so as to guard the accused against any rash dealing which the nature of his alleged crimes might produce in the common mind.

The famous Sir George Mackenzie in his "Pleadings in some Remarkable Cases before the Supreme Courts of Scotland," while defending a woman accused of witchcraft, refers to the case of Drummond as having incurred his punishment for cheating the people by his pretended cures, and not for witchcraft. He says:—"And though our Act of Parliament punishes such as seek help by unlawful means of sorcerers, or necromancers, yet they must first be proved to be sorcerers, or necromancers, who make a trade of abusing of people, as that statute says, which cannot be drawn at all to a dubious cure used in one case, and by the application of natural means; and, therefore, though Drummond was burnt as a witch, albeit he had never committed any malefice, but had only cured such as were diseased, yet, having, in a long habit and tract of time, abused the people, and used spells

and incantations, which had no relation at all to devotion; and having continued that trade, albeit he was expressly discharged, his case was very far different from this, and deserved a far more severe punishment. The same may be likewise answered to the condemnatory sentence pronounced against John Burgh, who was convicted of witchcraft in anno 1643, for pretending to cure all diseases, by throwing into water an unequal number of pieces of money, and sprinkling the patients with the water; so that it may be justly said that these died rather for being public cheats, *falsarii*, than for being witches, *venefici*."[1]

[1] M'Kenzie's Pleadings, p. 240.

AUCHTERARDER IN MAR'S YEAR

AUCHTERARDER IN MAR'S YEAR

HE efforts of the Legislature to promote the prosperity and increase the security of Auchterarder do not appear to have had much effect. The town continued as before isolated, and, being on the borders of the Highlands, exposed to predatory incursions from its lawless neighbours. The Records of the Privy Council, in which the proclamations against the Clan Gregor and other broken men are directed to be read at the Cross of the burgh, testify to this state of matters, but the worst visitation which it

had to undergo was in the Civil War of 1715. It is recorded that the inhabitants were much oppressed by the Earl of Mar's army, but a greater calamity was in store in the destruction of the town by fire by that army on 25th January, 1716, after the Battle of Sheriffmuir.

Auchterarder acquired considerable prominence by being a halting-place during the war for both armies. By the assistance of contemporary documents, and quoting their words, we shall give an account of what occurred in the town and neighbourhood during that eventful period.

The Earl of Mar arrived at Perth with his army in October, 1715. On the 16th he wrote to Major-General Alexander Gordon from the Camp at Perth, when just going out to the head of the army, that the whole army had marched from Perth and was to be that night at Auchterarder.

The highway from Perth to Auchterarder was then by Dunning. The army came to Auchterarder by that route. This is shown by the following letter from the Marquis of Tullibardine to his aunt, Lady Nairne, who was then in Perth. This lady, the husband of the gallant Lord Nairne, who

was subsequently condemned to death for his share in the Rising, but afterwards pardoned, was the mother of the wives of the Jacobite leaders, Lord Strathallan, Gask, Strowan, Lude, and Orchill. The original letter is in the possession of the author.

Madam,—I have received the bundle and things as you sent them, and am sorry I have been oblidged to give you so much trouble with my goods. I shall still want a pair of scarlet silk stockings, some threed ones, and a pair of lead-colloured gloves, and if there be still a pair of sheets of myne left, I should be glad they were sent with the first opportunity or occasion your Ladyship finds of any comming to the army. The washer-maid I engaged to Mr Charles Murray to come after us, but I hear she now again refuses. If your Lay'p can find any way to perswade her to come, it will doo me a particullar service, for I cannot tell else how to have any linnen dressed besides. Pray, let her know that if she should stay behind now, she cannot alwayes escape being severely taken notice of for this neglect of this kind, which may be avoided by her doing what is now desired of her, which is so much for her own good and advantage. I am told ther is a servant maid of your Layp's diswades her, without she goe alongst with her. Pray, from this hint, please to take your own methods in putting an end to this affair. I hope your Lay'p will forgive the liberty I have taken of opening the inclosed, which others would have done if I hade not, and I hope it will be of service that I have now seen the contents. I hope all our friends on the other side will be safe, however they have been exposed, of which I shall say no more at present. I send likeways inclosed exact list of our generall officers as they were

declared at Perth, if your Lay'p has not already seen it. I shall trouble your Lay'p with nothing further concerning them or anything else at present, but am, with the sincerest respect,

Madam,
Your Ladyship's most faithfull
humble Servant and Nephew,
TULLIBARDINE.

Just upon our march at
12 a cloak from Dunning,
ye 17th Octor., 1715.

Addressed—THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LADY NAIRNE,
PERTH.

On the 17th, while at Auchterarder, the Earl wrote to Mr Foster, then with the King's forces in Northumberland. On the 21st he wrote another letter to him from the camp at Perth, in which he says:—

I wrote to you of the 17th from Auchterarder, which I hope you got. I marched the same night, the horse to Dumblain, within four miles of Stirling, and the foot some miles short of that place. Next morning I had certain intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's returning from Edinburgh with most of the troops he had carried there, and were on their march towards Stirling. I also had an account of Evans' Regiment landed in the west of Scotland from Ireland, and were on their way to Stirling. I had come away from Perth before our provisions were ready to go with us, and I found all the country about Stirling, where we were to pass Forth, was entirely exhausted by the enemy; so there was nothing for us to

subsist on there. I had no account from General Gordon, as I expected, and the soonest I could expect him at the Heads of Forth was two days after that, and I could not think of passing Forth, till I was joined by him. Under these difficulties, and having got one of the things I designed by my march, the Duke of Argyle's withdrawing from our friends in Lothian, I thought it fit to march back to Auchterarder, which was a better quarter, though not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the Duke of Argyle's being come to Stirling the night before, and that he had sent express upon express to Evans' Dragoons to hasten up. I had a letter also, that morning from General Gordon, telling me that some things had kept him up longer than he expected; that it would be that day e're he could be at Inverary, and that he could not possibly join me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and wait his coming up, and the Lord Seaforth's, than continue at Auchterarder, since it would not a bit retard my passing the Forth, when I should be in a condition to do it; and in the meantime I could be getting provisions ready to carry along with me in my march, which, as I am told, are absolutely necessary about the Heads of Forth. So I came home last night.

On the 19th he issued the following commission, appointing Colin Simpson of Whitehills Commissary of the Army:—

By virtue of the authority and power to me given by His Majesty, as Commander-in-Chief of his forces in Scotland, I do hereby constitute and appoint you, the said Colin Simpson to be Commissary of the Stores. You are therefore to receive and grant receipts for what quantities of meal and bread shall be brought in to you from time to time for the use of the army, and to give out and

distribute the same as you shall be directed, in pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you.

Given under my hand and seal at the Camp at Auchterarder, the 19th October, and of His Majesty's reign the 14th year.

MAR.

The Earl of Mar, after his return to Perth, remained in camp there as the head-quarters of the army, while Lieutenant-General Alexander Gordon took up his quarters at Auchterarder in command of the Highland Clans which he had brought there from Argyleshire.

On 31st October, 1715, the Earl issued the following warrant to Lieutenant-General Gordon:—

John, Earl of Mar, &c., Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

These are to empower you to search at Auchterarder, Denin, Tullibardin, Muthil, and Creiff, for all the leather and made shoes which are fit for the use of the army, and to seize the said leather and shoes, and distribute the same proportionally among the respective corps under your command, and you are to direct the proprietors of the said leather and shoes to come here and receive the money due to them respective; an account whereof you'll transmit hither, distinguishing betwixt the whole hides and those that are cloven.

Given at the Camp at Perth, the 31st October, 1715. The account of leather is to be sent to Colonel Balfour, Governor of Perth, and the proprietors directed to wait upon him for payment.

MAR.

To Lieutenant-General Gordon,
at Auchterarder.

On the 29th of October, the Earl issued the following order:—

John, Earl of Mar, &c.,
Commander-in-Chief of
His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

These are ordering and requiring you forthwith to send to Auchterarder for the use of His Majesty's Forces there one hundred and twenty nine bolls of meal, to be distributed amongst them at the rate of one peck of meal for every five men a-day; for doing whereof this shall be to you a sufficient warrant. Given at the Camp at Perth, the 29th October, 1715.

MAR.

To Mr Colin Simson of Whitehill,
Commissary of the Stores.

On the 1st November, James Græme of Braco informed the commanding officer at Auchterarder that—

The long causey was last night planted with guards from Stirling, so that we can't assure ourselves of such intelligence as formerly, unless we could fall on a method of snapping up their guard there and obliging them to keep within their bridge. Our Trumpet seized, and my Lord Mar's letter disregarded, which is all we know about the enemy.

The reference to the seizer of the trumpeter is graphically described in his report, dated 1st November, 1715, in which he says:—

I, John M'Lean, Trumpet, went, by order of the Right Honourable Earl of Mar, to the Camp of Stirling from Perth,

the 30th October, and on the 31st, nine in the morning, as I came near to the bridge of that place, I sounded two calls, and a serjeant with five men were sent to me, and carried me to the officer of the guard, who asked me several questions, and particularly what my business there with my trumpet was. I answered, that I had brought a letter from the Earl of Mar to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, which I show'd to the officer, and this officer left me a little and returned, and then carried me to the Duke's lodging, and from that to the guard, and about an hour thereafter the captain of the guard asked the letter from me to the Duke, and a little after the delivery of the letter I was carried up to a room above the guard, and two centries put upon the door, the captain of the guard staying with me alone about half an hour, who asked me several questions, particularly who, commanded immediately under the Earl of Mar? What were the numbers of the rebels? What was their daily pay? How near the Earl of Seaforth was, and when the army designed to march from Perth? To which I answered, that I did not mind officers' names, but that there were anew of them; that the pay was fourpence halfpenny and bread per day; the foot was upwards of fifteen thousand. That the Earl of Seaforth was at Dunkel with four thousand men, and a thousand horse, and at Perth and Auchterarder there were upwards of fifteen hundred horse, and that I heard in a day or two the army was to march from Perth, and surround the Duke, and take him and his army prisoners; so the officer left me, and I was shut up. The person who had the converse with me was Major Cathcart. Sometime thereafter the captain of the guard came along with a centry, who brought me my dinner—viz., pies, roast beef, and hens, and a bottle of wine, and in the afternoon a second bottle of wine, and at night a third.

In a letter to the Honourable Lieutenant-General Gordon, Commander of the Clans, the following request is made:—

Honourable,—The gentlemen of the piquit-guard are willing to patroul about Auchterarder; but say, that seeing they cannot speak Irish to their sentries, they may be exposed to their fire: and therefore desire to know how they may be safe in doing their duty. And it is thought necessary, that some go along with them who know the Irish, or to do anything else ye shall see fit; which shall be obeyed by, Honourable, your most humble servant,[1]

GEO. GORDON.

Abriven, November 3, 1715.

To the Honourable Lieutenant-General Gordon,
Commander of the Clans.

On 4th November, Lieutenant-General Gordon, Commander of the Highland Clans, issued the following order:—

These are ordering the inhabitants of Glendevon and Fossevey against the morrow, the 5th instant, to bring here score loads of coals for the use of the King's army, under pain of present quartering: they are to be delivered at the sight of Mr Drummond, Baillie of this place, or his order: for which end lists of the loads, and those that bring them, are to be sent up with the first that comes.

ALEX. GORDON.

Auchterarder, November 4, 1715.

The Gentlemen of the Parishes are to proportion them on the Parishes.

[1] One of the pickets was stationed at Lochie, about a mile south from Auchterarder. A drum and drumsticks were left behind; one of the latter is in possession of the writer.

Of the same date the Lieutenant-General received an order from the Camp at Perth as to victualling of the army, to the following effect:—

Sir,—I send you here inclosed a double of the Committee's resolution, and have sent two detachments accordingly; therefore, you must take care that the barns be got ready, and all other necessary assistance you can give. As to the driving of the sheep, I believe it will be your best way to advise with Bracco in it, who, knowing the country exactly, is the fittest man that can be employed in that service. But this I must leave intirely to you, who can best judge of the matter, being upon the spot. I need not recommend (the necessity we are in to fill up our magazines with all dispatch imaginable) that you'll do the same there with you, which is absolutely necessary before we can march from this.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

GEO. HAMILTON.

From the Camp at Perth,
November 4, 1715.
For Lieutenant-General Gordon.

Rob Roy appears to have been with the Clans at Auchterarder, as the Earl of Mar in a letter to the Lieutenant-General at Auchterarder, dated Huntingtour, Friday morning, November 4th, 1715, makes the following reference to him, which may be more easily understood if his ambiguous conduct at the subsequent Battle of Sheriffmuir is taken into consideration:—

I wonder what keeps Rob Roy from coming to Perth, as I

ordered him. Pray, send him there immediately, for I want very much to speak to him; and if there be no alarm from the enemy, I would have you come to Perth to-morrow morning, that I may consert some things with you as to our march. Forward the enclosed, and I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

MAR.

To Lieutenant-General Gordon,
at Auchterarder.

Part of the Auchterarder division of the army lay at Gleneagles. The conduct of the soldiers does not appear to have been creditable, and which was the more unjustifiable, seeing the Lady of Gleneagles was favourable to the Royal cause. A complaint was made to the Earl of Mar. He immediately issued the following order to General Gordon, at the same time sending him the letter of complaint:—

Sir,—The Earl of Mar ordered me to send you the enclosed, and desires that so far as possible these complaints may be redressed, and expects you'll allow no such abuses to be committed, and orders you'll take all methods possible to keep the people under command, that our own people may not be oppressed. This, by command above, from, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

W. CLEPHANE, Adgt.-Gen.

Camp at Perth,
8th November, 1715.

To His Excellency Lieutenant-General
Gordon, commanding His Majesty's
Forces at Auchterarder.

My Lord,—Last night I had a letter from my niece, Mrs Stirling, telling me of great abuses committed by that part of your Lordship's army lying at Gleneagles; upon which I presumed to give your Lordship the trouble of one, and designed she should deliver it herself; your Lordship's was under her cover; the servant I sent was taken and searched, the letter taken from him; they used the formality to deliver it to her, but withal obliged her to show it them. She being afraid of their jealousy and rage, put the enclosed in the fire, for which she met with very harsh treatment, in so much they would not allow her to give me an answer, nor see my servant. After all, they knew not to whom the letter was directed, neither durst she own it was to your Lordship. My servant tells me they have shot a great many sheep and black cattle, plundered their shepherds' and tenants' houses, robbed their household servants, broke open Gleneagles closet, the granaries, and taken what meal they had for their subsistence. In short, poor Mrs Stirling, who certainly wishes them very well, was in tears, and confined to her room. I wish from my heart we don't find it in this side of the hill paid home with interest, for as yet they have spared our cattle. I persuade myself, your Lordship knows nothing of this, 'tis so unlike the gentleness and lenity you have showed hitherto. I am sure, were Sir John present he would be very earnest in begging your Lordship's protection for his sister; for God's sake, take it into consideration, and put some cheque upon these rude people, who will certainly bring an odium on our party. In the meantime, my Lord, I humbly beg pardon for the importunity and freedom, wishing your Lordship an entire and sudden subversion of your enemies, a long and uninterrupted enjoyment of your friends.—I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most devoted servant,

Alva, November 6, 1715. KA ST. CLAIR.

To the Earl of Mar.

The following orders were issued:—

You are hereby ordered to march the whole horse, belonging to my Lord Huntly, on Tuesday, the eighth, from their present quarters to Auchterarder, where the Quarter-Master-General shall meet them with their billets, and you are to send such a party of the foot, under your command, along with them, as you shall think fit for their security; and you are to order all the horses and foot now under your command to march with all their baggage to the Muir be west Auchterarder, on Wednesday morning, being the ninth, there to be reviewed with the army, and be ready to march forward, where their quarters shall be assigned to them. Given at the Camp at Perth, this 7th of November, 1715.

MAR.

To Lieutenant-General Gordon,
commanding at Auchterarder.

These are ordering and requiring you to intimate to the several general persons, afternamed, and the troops under yours and their command, at their quarters aftermentioned, that notwithstanding of my former order to you to have the army in readiness to be reviewed on Wednesday, the ninth: you are to order them to march on Thursday morning from their several quarters to the Muir on the westward of Auchterarder, to be reviewed there early in the morning. For doing whereof this shall be your warrant. Given at the Camp at Perth, this 7th of November, 1715.

MAR.

To Lieutenant-General Gordon,
commanding His Majesty's Forces at
Auchterarder and the adjacent
parts thereabout.

From the Camp at Perth,
November 8, 1715.

Right Honourable Sir,—Since the Earl of Mar's orders to you of yesternight's date, his Lordship has been pleased to alter the rout of Brigadier Ogilvy with the four battalions under his command, so that instead of passing the water by boats and being this night at Aberiven, they are ordered to march by the Bridge of Erne, and quarter where they can most conveniently on the road to Auchterarder, where you will find them if occasion offers.—I am, Right Honourable, your most humble and obedient servant,

W. CLEPHAN, Adg.-Gen.

To His Excellency Lieutenant-General
Gordon, commanding His
Majesty's Forces at Auchterarder.

On 8th November, Græme of Braco sent the following letter to General Gordon, and enclosure directed to the Laird of Glengarry:—

Sir,—This is to show your Excellency that the enclosed carries very surprising, and they may be very easily intercepted. Which is all from your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

JA. GRÆME.

Bracco, the 8th November, 1715.

Let the enclosed be shown to none, because the first part of it ought not to be seen.

Sir,—The horses that I sent to Easter Glensherup's barn-yard did not bring off the half of the victuals, therefore I intreat you'll order John Sheden and Mr Archibald Drummond to warn in from that country two hundred horses for away bringing the rest of that barn-yard, and I, to-morrow, being to have use for my whole garrison,

expects you'll send a safeguard with them, and cause bring the said victual to the park of Ardoch, where the rest are. There's no use but great threats from Stirling, tho' no outcoming, as little do I expect them; they brag the officers of the force are come to Stirling for the encouragement of their men, and it was only a troop that was lying at Falkirk, which was ordered to the Camp.—I am, dear Sir, your humble and obedient servant,

JA. GRÆME.

Bracco, November 8, 1715.
To the Honourable the
Laird of Glengary.

A Council of War was held at Perth on 9th November, when it was agreed to put the army in readiness for a march over Forth with the utmost celerity. The army consisted of 12,000 effective men, and it was resolved to march straightway to Dunblane with a detachment of 3000 men, to confuse the Duke of Argyle, whose army was said to consist of a similar number. The main body of the army, consisting of about 9000 men, were to attempt to cross the River Forth undiscovered, and to follow Brigadier Mackintosh into England, to be followed by the detachment at their convenience. On the 10th of November, the Earl of Mar left the Governor of Perth, and in accordance with the resolution of the Council

of War, marched his army to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his troops, said to consist of 2300 horse and 5000 foot. On the following day they were joined by General Gordon with the clans, being 100 horse and 3000 foot. He rested at Auchterarder on the 11th, and on Saturday, the 12th, he gave orders to General Gordon and Brigadier Ogilvie with eight squadrons of horse and all the Clans to march and take possession of the town of Dunblane, and the rest of the army to parade very early on the Muir of Tullibardine, and thence to march after General Gordon. The Earl of Mar, in the meantime, had gone to Drummond Castle to meet with the Earl of Breadalbane, and he ordered General Hamilton to march the army, which he did accordingly. Being advanced near to Ardoch, he received an express from General Gordon, who was about two miles before him at that time, that he had received intelligence of a great body of the enemy being in Dunblane. General Hamilton drew up the army at the Roman Camp, near Ardoch, and shortly thereafter was joined by the Earl of

Mar. They joined General Gordon at Kinbuck, where the whole army lay under arms that night and formed early next morning.

The Battle of Sheriffmuir was fought on Sunday, 13th November. In the course of Monday, the 14th, Mar ascertained that Argyle was returned to Stirling. Both sides claimed the victory. The Earl of Mar marched back with his army to Auchterarder, and rested all Tuesday there. On Wednesday he proceeded towards Perth, where he took up his quarters on Thursday.

On the 12th November the following letter was sent from Braco to Commissary Simpson at Tullibardine :—

Yours to General Hamilton came here this moment, and he being marched with the whole army towards Dumblain this night, I used the freedom on this sudden emergent to break it up; and my humble opinion is so soon as this comes to your hand, you must send up all the provisions you can for Dumblain, for the army will certainly be in great want, for the Duke of Argyle with his whole army are in Dumblain, and ours within a mile of theirs all night under arms; his number is counted not to be above three thousand, and the Clans solely engage to give account of them with the assistance of a few horse. I am condemned with my cargo by Earl Mar's express orders (notwithstanding my earnest request to the contrary) to this place. I hope to-morrow will, with God's

assistance, give us a good and safe passage over Forth. I shall forward yours to General Hamilton this night; in the meantime, for God's sake, be active as you value every thing that is dear to us all.—I am, yours,

JA. FREEBAIRN.

Braco Garrison,
12th November, 10 at Night.
To Mr Colin Simpson of Whitehil,
One of the Commissaries of the Army
now at Tullibardine.

On 15th November the following letter was sent from Auchterarder to the Commissary :—

Sir,—I received yours, but the depute you thought to be here ran away upon the first alarm, and we have been obliged to break open the magazine at Tullibardine, as likewise this here, which latter we found empty. The bread at Tullibardine we are giving out to the army for fear of spoiling. I hope your magazines at Perth are very full of both meal and bread; for if the army should chance to come to their neighbourhood, there will be daily very great demands. 'Tis likewise necessary that good magazines of hay and oats be also provided, which I fear has not been minded much, which must be gone about without further delay.—I am, sir, your most humble servant,

GEO. HAMILTON.

To Mr Simpson,
Commissary of Provisions.

About this time the following order was issued by the Committee for provisions :—

The Committee for Provisions propone that forty men of Panmure's Regiment that have been accustomed to thresh, be sent

out to Dalreoch, and ordered to cast in what corns are standing there belonging to Gleneagles, and thresh them out with all expedition; that a captain and two subalterns be sent along with them to oversee the work, and that each man be allowed twopence a day over and above his ordinary pay for their encouragement to work. Also, that other forty men with officers be sent out to Gleneagles, to thresh what corns are standing there, and in case they cannot be all imployed at once for want of barns and instruments, that they relieve one another by turns, and when the corns are dight, that some proper person be appointed to oversee the drying and milling of them, and to lay up the meal that shall be produced, at Tullihardine, for the use of the Army.

They likewise propone that all the sheep belonging to Gleneagles, Tillicultry, the Dukes of Athole and Montrose's vassals be gathered together, and put into the parks of Gleneagles, which will be sufficient to grass them, and kept under a guard, for the use of the army.

J. GRÆME, P.

The Earl of Mar, hearing that the Duke of Argyle was making great preparations to march against him, on 17th January issued the following order:—

Whereas it is absolutely necessary for our service and the publick safety that the enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their march towards us, if they should attempt anything against us or our forces, and being this, can by no means be better effected than by destroying all the corn and forage, which may serve to support them on their march, and burning the houses and villages which may be necessary for quartering the enemy, which nevertheless it is our meaning should only be done

in case of absolute necessity, concerning which we have given our full instructions to James Graham, younger of Braco. These are, therefore, ordering and requiring you, how soon this order shall be put into your hands by the said James Graham, forthwith with the garrison under your command, to burn and destroy the village of Auchterarder, and all the houses, corn, and forage, whatsoever within the said town, so as they might be rendered entirely useless to the enemy. For doing whereof this shall be to you and all you employ a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court of Scoon, this 17th day of January, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1715-16.

By His Majesty's command,
MAR.

To Colonel Patrick Graham,
or the Commanding Officer
for the time of our
Garrison for Tullibardine.

An account of the burning of Auchterarder is given by Mr John Steedman, the minister of the parish, in a contemporary letter to Wodrow, the historian. Mr Steedman was a timorous man, and was afraid to preach in his church while the neighbourhood was occupied by the Rebel Army. Mr William Reid, minister of the adjoining parish of Dunning, was of sterner material, and exchanged pulpits with his brother clergyman for several Sundays, conducting worship at Auchterarder with a loaded pistol hanging at his breast. In particular, he did so on Sunday, 16th September.

Mr Steedman states—"The only way the Clans were employed while they were here was in traversing the hills, shooting, and driving away all sheep, kine, and horse they could get their hands upon without ever asking the price; nor did they spare the very nolt that were for ploughing the ground, nor the cows of the poor folk that were giving milk for nourishing their poor young infants; but these were brought into the town wherever they could find them to the slaughter; nor were the rest of the rebels much better, taking poor people's corns out of their stacks, and what provision they found in the poor people's houses, without so much as a promise of payment except by and to a very few." He then proceeds with an "account of the management" in the burning of Auchterarder, "as a swatch of what they did elsewhere. Clanranald —not Allan Muidartach, the Captain of Clanranald who fell at Sheriffmuir, but his brother Ranald, who succeeded him as head of the sept—came to Auchterarder with about three hundred men with him at three o'clock in the morning in a very snowy and stormy night; and instead of warning people of their danger, never carried more friendly and kindly like than they did, till they began to

put it in execution; and the first advertisement they gave of it was Clanranald's orders to his men to kindle straw and fall to their work, which immediately was done, so that the people had no time allowed them to carry out their effects; but anything they got preserved was for the most part with the hazard of their lives, which was the occasion of one Janet Miller, her death. There was not one house in all the town but what was set on fire, except one or two, and very few of these got preserved." The correspondent, who makes the excerpt from Mr Steedman's letter, adds, "that one Thomas Mitchell, who dwells near the town of Auchterarder in the parish, and who was an eye-witness to the burning and thereabout, told me that the Laird of Aberuthven got so many hands that he left nothing in his house before they set it on fire, but the Highlanders left not one prin's worth to him, but threw the very plenishing, sheets, tables, &c., into the flames. This Mr Clow confirms, having it from the Laird's own mouth; for Mr Clow went up to see his mother, who dwelt in Aberuthven, and has the mill in farming, where every stob was burned, and (the rebels) would not suffer her to take some corns that were both in the

barn and kiln out of the same, but told her if she offered to take them out they would throw them in again."

Dunning also felt the effects of the proclamation. It is said to have been totally destroyed. Mr Steedman says that "Thomas Mitchell told him that the Highlanders at Dunning helped the people to some of the effects and bundles and to carry them out, but afterwards, knowing what and where the best of the people's effects were, robbed them of the most part of them." Mr Reid, who was not afraid to face the rebels at Auchterarder, now lay on his death-bed. The news of the destroyers' approach threw his wife into great consternation. Comforting her with the assurance that the Lord would not suffer a hair of his head to be touched, he directed his coffin to be hastily prepared. He expired on 28th January, and was at once interred to prevent the enemy insulting his remains. The leaders of the party came to the manse, which they destroyed, declaring that they were sorry they got not the old dog's bones to birsle in the flames of the house. To commemorate the burning at Dunning the historical Thorn Tree was then planted, which continues to flourish in a green old age.

Crieff was also burned, and the southmost arch of the bridge over the Earn was thrown down to obstruct the enemy's passage of the river. At Muthill the proclamation was carried out with great severity. Mr William Hally was then minister of the parish, whose settlement a few years before was obstructed by the Episcopalian and Jacobite parties. His wife's grandmother, who resided in the manse, was lying at the point of death when the enemy approached to burn the manse. "Those that burned Muthill," says the Wodrow correspondent, "would not allow the house to be spared; but for some minutes, when Mr Hally, who is minister there, his wife's grandmother, who was just a-dying, though the minister went out and told them the old woman was just in the jaws of death, entreating them to spare the house only some minutes till she was expired, and they would carry out. But not one minute would they delay, but set flames to the house, so that they were necessitate to carry the old dying woman in sheets and blankets out of the house, who died in the forth carrying, and they laid her down in the snow, and streiked her, where the minister's wife—her oye (grandchild)—sat beside

her, and the Highlandmen pulled the blankets, which were lying beneath the old woman upon the snow, from beneath her, and took them with them."

This order to burn was carried into effect at Auchterarder on the 25th of January. There had been a heavy snowstorm. On the 24th the Duke of Argyle marched to Dunblane with 200 horse, and, taking General Cadogan and as many more, went to view the roads as far as Auchterarder, and returned at night to their quarters. "This put the Earl of Mar's army into a state of consternation, some of the smaller garrisons abandoning their posts, and retiring behind the River Earn, while many others repaired to the banks of that river, where they gave out that they were resolved to make a stand and fight the army commanded by the Duke of Argyle, and, having intelligence that his Grace had posted 3000 men, as his advance guard, at Dunblane and Down, they sent 3000 Highlanders of the garrisons of Braco, Tullibardine, and other neighbouring garrisons, who, pursuant to the Pretender's orders above-mentioned, burned the towns and villages of Auchterarder, Crieff, Blackford, Dunning, and Muthill, with what corns and forage they could not carry off; whereby

the poor inhabitants were exposed to the open air in that stormy season, and it is said some poor decrepit people and children, who could not get fast enough out, were smothered in the flames."

The same day the Duke went to view the roads it thawed suddenly, and the thaw was followed by a great fall of snow, which was everywhere two or three feet deep, and suddenly froze again, which rendered the road extremely difficult, especially for the foot, inasmuch that some of the officers were of opinion that they ought not to march till the season was a little more settled; but his Grace having received positive orders from Court, resolved to surmount all difficulties, and march as soon as the artillery and remaining forces could join him.

On the 29th of January a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot, with two pieces of cannon, approaching the Castle of Braco, the garrison there abandoned the Castle, and the troops when they came up found it deserted. The next morning the same detachment marched towards Tullibardine to dislodge the rebels from thence, and to cover the country people, who, to the number of 2000 men, were employed in clearing the roads of snow, and making them otherwise practicable for the

more commodious march of the army, which that day advanced to Auchterarder, where the rebels, having burned all the houses, as above stated, the poor soldiers had no lodging but the cold snow, nor any other covering but the canopy of heaven.

King James saw that the burning of Auchterarder and adjacent towns was a political blunder, and he endeavoured to efface the indignation which it had caused by issuing a proclamation in which he attempted to apologise for and explain the reasons which induced him to authorise such a cruel and unnecessary action, and to promise that reparation should be made for the damage sustained.

The proclamation is in the following terms:—

By the King a Declaration.

JAMES R.

Whereas it was absolutely necessary for our service and the publick safety, that the villages of Auchterarder and Blackford should be burned and destroyed, to prevent the far greater inconveniences and hardships which must have ensued to our subjects had our clemency and tenderness prevailed upon us to preserve these places, we were therefore at last induced, from the strongest motives, tho' with the greatest reluctancy and unwillingness, to give our orders for the effect above mentioned, which we understand since have been put in execution. And in regard we came into this our ancient kingdom, with a sincere and fixed intention to ease

and relieve all our subjects in general of the hardships and calamities which they have laboured under for these several years past; and being, therefore, most sensibly affected with the losses and sufferings of our good subjects by the devastation of these villages, which justly moves our compassion and tenderness towards them; and being, therefore, resolved to make them suitable reparation for the damages they have sustained on this occasion, and to the end they may be no losers thereby, it is, therefore, our will and pleasure, that all and sundry persons concerned do immediately prepare estimates of their several losses and sufferings, and that they deliver the same in writing to their several masters, so as we may order relief and reparation to be made to them for what losses and damages they have sustained in their houses, goods, furniture, and corns, or any other manner of way whatsoever. This we hope will be sufficient to convince them and all the world of the tender regard we have for our subjects, and of the part we bear in all their sufferings. And we hereby charge and command the ministers of the several Parish Churches of Auchterarder and Blackford publickly to read this our declaration to their several congregations immediately after Divine service, the two Sundays next after the date hereof to be affixed on the church doors, so as all the people concerned may have due notice of this our intention towards them, and may accordingly reap the benefit thereof. Given at our Court of Scoon, this 26th day of January, 1716, and in the fifteenth year of our reign.

By His Majesty's command, MAR.

In addition to the foregoing notice of the Burning of Auchterarder and other towns, the following contemporary account, written by an eye-witness, is worthy of reproduction. It was originally published by the Maitland Club.

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURNING OF THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF AUCHTERARDER, MUTHILL, CRIEFF, BLACKFORD, DALREOCH, AND DUNNING, ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1716

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF OCHTERARDER, A TOWN OR VILLAGE LYING MIDWAY BETWEEN STIRLING AND PERTH,

JANUARY 25TH AND 27TH, 1715-16

SEEING the Jacobites are dayly complaining of the severity of the Government against some of theire party, alledging that they have done nothing worthy either of death or transportation, I thought it my duty to represent to you the treatment wee in the parish of Ochterarder had from them, that thereby you may judge how they behaved in other places, and what they deserve.

Tho' I was for the most part in this place from the taking of Perth and the first breaking out of the Rebellion, and cou'd give you full accounts of

the hardships and oppressions wee met with by military executions, by forcing and dragging even the well affected Commons into the Rebellion, by quartering, plundering, and suffering all the calamities a poor people were able to bear, yet I shall confine my selfe onely to that of the burning.

Upon Tuesday, the 24th of January, 1715-16, a detachment of the Clans of betwixt five and six hundred men did, by order of the Pretender and his then Generall, the Earl of Marr, march from Perth about nine a clock at night. This detachment consisted of Sr. Donald M'Donald's, Clan Ranald's, Glengarrie's, Lochyell's, Appin's, M'clean's, and Cappoch's men under the respective officers of theire own Clans, but commanded in chiefe by Clan Ranald, brother and successor to him who was kill'd at the Battle of Sherrifmoor.

Andrew Taylor, in Stragaith, serving then at Perth under the Lord Drummond, his master, as soon as he understood upon what design they were marching, took horse in order to come and warn his friends in this place, but was stopt by Loudowick Drummond and James, his son, who charged him not to stirr from them that night, under the pain of death.

Clanranald, coming to Ochterarder upon Wednesday, the 25th of January, about 4 in the morning, found everybody fast asleep. Sentries were placed, and all precautions taken by him that no intelligence might be carry'd to the King's Forces, of whom they falsely supposed a party to be within two miles.

Then partyes were ordered to every house in the town, to let none stirr out of doors, which they broke open without allowing any body time to put on their cloaths; then, crowding in, they lighted candles, and searched every corner of the house for enemyes, as they call'd them, but finding none, broke open chests, and took what they found most convenient for them. The thing that most offended them was that they found plenty of meat, drink, and other liquors, which they said wee had provided for the King's Army, as wee really had, our miserable circumstances having made us look for them with impatience long before they came.

Great was the terrour wee were under when wee were so rudely treated under cloud of night, and detain'd prisoners within our houses by armed men, who could not or would not speak one word of our language. Many were persuaded that

Clanranald, who is a violent Papist (as all the Clans are who came along with him), was come with a design to massacre us, because none of this place had joyn'd them upon the Pretender's Proclamation.

About break of day, understanding by intelligence from theire friends in the country that none of the King's Forces were nearer than Dumblain, they opened the doors and allowed people to go out, who, as soon as they could get access, came to Clanranald to complain of the rudeness and barbarity of his men. He promised redress to all before he shou'd leave the place.

Betwixt nine and ten, a party of about two or three hundred of the Rebells foot with some few horsemen (not of the Clans) march'd by Clanranald's order for Blackfoord, a country town two miles to the westward of Ochterarder, on the road to Stirling. They were conducted by William Maitland, one of theire own number, and son to James Maitland, innkeeper at Blackfoord. Wee saw them march, but nobody knew whither, nor upon what designe.

It began, then, to be whisper'd that they were come with a design to burn the town. Upon this

severall who were best affected to the Pretender, and thought they had most interest with Clanranald, came to him to know the truth of it. He assured them he had no such design or orders. After that, William Davidson, merchant, who, by reason of his old age and infirmity, had kept his bed for two months, having had his house plundered, his sons and son-in-law beat and wounded, sent to make a complaint to Clanranald, who had quarter'd at his house when he lay at Ochterarder before and after the Battle of Dumblain. On this Clanranald went to his house, assured him the goods should be searcht for and restored, and that he needed never expect any harm where he commanded. With that he kiss'd all the family and went out.

Soon after he left this house he went to the street and order'd his men to draw up. This being done, he gave publick orders in these words:—"Go and burn all the houses in the town. Spare none, except the church and Mrs Paterson's."

This Mrs Paterson's was the house where the Jacobites kept theire conventicles during the time of the late ministry and before the Rebellion, and

is such a house as could accommodate easily more people than any town houses in Ochterarder.[1]

Such as heard these orders run to theire houses to throw out theire goods, but theire houses being almost all at the same time invested and set on fire, it was little they cou'd get thrown to the doors, and what was, was immediately snatched up and plunder'd by the Rebells, being it was with great difficulty they cou'd save theire children and infants.

Janet Miller, spouse to William Græme, one of the Duke of Montrose's vassals, seeing her house on fire, nothing preserv'd, and her children in danger, run in, where she perished, and was consumed to ashes by the flames.

This morning there had been one of the most terrible blowings and falls of snow that ever man saw, and the snow was so exceeding deep that many aged people, women, and children, who were designing when they saw theire houses burnt

[1]This house was The Abbey, so named from being on the Abbot of Inchaffray's croft. It was a two-storey house erected in 1676. It was taken down in 1842, and rebuilt. Though undoubtedly occupied by the Earl of Mar, there is no ground for saying that the Chevalier was ever there. He did not leave Perth.

to go shelter themselves in the church, were so encumbered with the snow that they cou'd not walk through, but lay sweltering amongst it, where they were stript of their cloaths, and robb'd of theire money and everything they had about them, and left by the cruel Rebells, who minded nothing but burning and plundering, to perish in the cold.

Clanranald, now seeing every house on fire, and many of the best fall'n down, rode along the streets, conveen'd his men, and march'd. All the way he pray'd the people whom he saw weeping to forgive him, but was answered with silence, and so departed to do the like in other places. His men, before they went, seized all the horses they cou'd find to carry off theire plunder.

I shall now give account how some particular persons were treated, that thereby you may judge the better of the behaviour of these barbarians.

William Davidson, mentioned before, to whom Clanranald had promised so much kindness, was, after his house was all in flames about his ears, carry'd out, sick and aged as he was, and with much difficulty at last by his daughter and daughter-in-law brought through the depth of

the snow to the church, where he lay severall days in a most miserable condition.

James Shearer, son-in-law to William Davidson, for having disobey'd many of the Rebells' orders, was by them carry'd prisoner to the Sheriffmure, where in the time of the battle he made his escape, but durst never after stay at home so as to be seen by them. Being surpriz'd in his house that morning the Rebells came to burn, and knowing the danger he was in, because they had threatened to kill him, hid himself behind a chest, and lay there in his shirt upon the cold ground a whole day, and did not get his escape made till, in the hurry and time of the burning, he was forced, naked as he was, to run through the snow a full mile to a wood to save himself.

Mr William Davidson, schoolmaster, who had been very active all the time of the Rebellion in supporting and encouraging the King's friends in the country, and being upon that account every day threat'ned to be seized by the garrison of Tullibardine, which is within a mile of that place, was, when he heard noise in the morning, endeavouring to make his escape, but was seized by the Rebells, stript, robb'd of what money was

about him, and last with much to do escaped, wading with great difficulty to the wood where Shearer, his brother-in-law, was gone before. After he was gone, the Highlanders broke into his house, where, tho' his wife was bigg with child, they fell a plundering, and when she seem'd but to murmur at it, they knock't her down with the butt-end of a gun, and left her lying dead upon the ground, blooding at mouth and nose.

William Friskan, merchant, who, tho' his house and all that was in it was burnt, thought himself happy that he had escaped with some money that he had in a bagg to the church. But in the generall search which the Rebell guard made upon all those that were in the church, they found his money about him, beat him severely, and took it from him.

The church and some few little houses, such as stables and byers, being preserved by the tempestuousness of the day from the first burning, the poor miserable people was begun to shelter themselves in them the best they cou'd, when on Friday, the 27th, in the morning, William Maitland, whom we mentioned before as guide to them that went to Blackfoord, came from Perth, and

dispersed amongst us some printed proclamations from the Pretender signifying that, Whereas he was obliged by the circumstances of his affaires to cause burn the villages of Ochterarder and Blackfoord, yet, as a father of his country, he sympathis'd with them in their sufferings, and wou'd make them a full and speedy reparation, and that they might expect all manner of protection from him in time coming, and order'd this his proclamation to be publickly read in the church the next and following Lord's Day.

Notwithstanding, next morning being Saturday, the 28th, about one of the clock, when all was asleep, Coll. Patrick Greeme with the garrison of Tullibardine, by orders from Clanranald and Lowdowick Drummond, factor to the Lord Drummond, came and kindled a little house in the west end of the town, which was the only one there remaining. It is impossible to express the terrour and fright wee were in when the cry rose that the burning was begun again. Wee all concluded that Clanranald with his savages was return'd to murder and massacre us. Some women, even of the best note in this place, went distracted, and have never recover'd since. Some fled, with

theire naked children in theire arms, through the deep snow to the wood. Other sick persons and children, tho' naked, were lay'd out in the snow, where they lay all that night, as well as the day following.

It would have moved pity in any body but that inveterate Jacobite, Patrick Greeme, to see Andrew Mailor, a man of good account, going to the country with his wife and five children, some of whom cou'd not walk, without anything to cover them but one blanket, and when he begg'd from Patrick Greeme to preserve as much straw as wou'd support one cow he had left for milk to his children, he caused burn his corns before his eyes.

Collonell Greeme, by reason of his age, not being able to travell through the snow to see all the rest of the corns burnt, left express orders with Robert Meinzies, of the garrison of Tullibardine, to see all burnt down to the ground. Then himself with his two nephews march'd down the town, swearing that the people as well as theire houses and corns ought to be burnt, because none of them wou'd goe to serve theire King. But when he and his two nephews came to that part of the town

where the minister's house stands, and perceived some part of it standing after the first burning, wou'd not stirr from the place till he saw it and all the corns neare about it quite consumed.

From that he went to Milntown, a scatter'd village, partly belonging to the Duke of Montrose and partly to the Lord Drummond, and there he took particular care to burn every house that belong'd to the Duke of Montrose, and to save every one that belong'd to the Lord Drummond.

Here I must do justice to Robert Meinzies, who, tho' he was a stranger to us, and had the Collonll's positive orders before he went to spare nothing, yet he commanded his men and did all he cou'd to preserve some of our poor remains. And I am likewise credibly inform'd that James Campbell, brother to Glen Lyon, who was Lieutenant of the garrison of Tullibardine, and was there taken with the Pretender's orders for burning in his pocket, did absolutely refuse to obey it, or have any share in so base and barbarous a work.

From the Milntoun the Collonell with his two nephews march'd to Abruthven, a house belonging to a gentleman who with his whole family had been forc'd to leave that country at the breaking out of

the Rebellion, and went to Stirling. When the Collonell came to this house, he call'd for the servants, and said he was resolved to show favour to theire master because he was neighbour to his nephew, and therefore bid them go and take the roofe of the house onely, which wou'd answer his end, and render it useless to the enemy, and said he wou'd ask no more. The servants, believing and obeying, set ladders to the house, and were begun to pull off the roof, which he, perceiving, immediately caus'd pluck away the ladders, and set fire to the house below, swearing that he was only sorry that the master and the mistress were not in the same state with the servants. The servants, indeed, jumpt down amongst the rubbish and deep snow, but he stood by the house, and all that was within it was intirely consum'd by the flames.

Next night, about one in the morning, the Collonell came with the same party of the garrison of Tullibardine and burnt the House of Damside, belonging to the Duke of Montrose, where his factor, David Clow, and his aged mother lived, and who had been forced to fly to Stirling in the beginning of the Rebellion. She made earnest

applications to William Campbell, one of the party, to save her house and her son's papers, and not only offer'd, but gave him all the money she had, which he had no sooner received, but he bid the party fall on—"Do your work, and be damn'd"; so that house with all that was in it was burnt as the rest, and the aged woman with her infant grand-children was left to ly on the snow. From thence Robert Meinzies with a party was sent to burn a large barn belonging to Abruthven, which had not been burnt the day before; but he, finding it full of corn, slipt away and did not do it at that time.

As the Collonell, his two nephews, and his party were going off, being then apprehensive of the King's Army, he met with Lord George Murray with another party just returned from the burning of Duning, a town two miles to the south-east of Abruthven. It seems that Lord George was afraid that that gentleman's house shou'd escape, and so was coming to see it share in the common fate.

The Collonell and he joyn'd their partyes together, the one mostly consisting of Athols, and the other of Broadalbin's men. So they

and theire joynt party, and with them John Stewart, younger of Stenton, and Murray, son of Bailie Murray in Dunkeld, both captains, first set fire to the remaining office-houses and corns at Damside, and then went to Abruthven, which is but hard by, and not only burnt the barn which Meinzies had spared, but all the other houses and corns belonging to that gentleman. They likewise burnt the house and corns of Kirkland.

Archibald Smith, a farmer under Abruthven, seeing them going to burn his house and corns, begs of Capts. Stewart and Murray, for God's sake, to save but one stack to support his bestial or stock of cattle during the storm. This being refus'd, he entreated them to kill or drive away his horse and cattle, for he cou'd not bear to see them starve. To this they gave him no answer, but set fire to his house and corns, and so left him with forty or fifty horse and cattle and nothing to maintain them, sow his ground, or keep his family from starving. It is visible this was done because he was that gentleman's tenant, for they burnt no houses thereabout belonging to any other body, and were going on burning more of his, when they

got a false alarm that the King's Army was approaching, and so they went with great precipitation towards Dalrioch, a large farm belonging to Mr Haldane of Gleneagles, which lyes two miles to the eastward, nearer Perth.

There was burnt in this parish 142 houses, these not included which were set on fire, but partly sav'd, and all theire corns, so that there was nothing left them to preserve theire cattle and sow theire grounds; and besides the starving condition to which the people of all ages were reduced by the frights, cold, and fatigue they endur'd, many dyed soon after, and several lost the use of their limbs.

The Jacobites alledge that what they did in burning was in theire own defence, and done without distinction of friend or foe. But the contrary is very evident, for Clanranald own'd he had orders to spare Mrs Paterson's house, whom we mentioned before.

It is true Clanranald burnt some Jacobites' houses in Ochterarder, he and his men being strangers, and not knowing to make distinctions; yet even at that time he spared the houses belonging to John Dick, Charles Drummond, and

John Balnaves, who had served the Rebells. And it is observable that Lord George Murray and Collonell Greeme did not burn one house betwixt Abruthven and Dalrioch, which is about two miles, where there are good many country houses and corn yards belonging to persons who either actually joyn'd or were favourers of the Rebells.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF BLACKFOORD, JANUARY THE 24TH AND 25TH, 1715-16

ACCORDING to our best information, a party of the Clans, consisting of Sir Donald M'Donald's, Clanranald's, Lochiell's, Appin's, M'Clean's, Glengerry's, and Kepoch's men, commanded by Clanranald, brother to him who was killed att Dunblain, to the number of five or six hundred, marched from Perth, Tuesday, the 24th of January, 1716, about nine of the clock at night, and tho' the night was exceeding stormy and the snow lying very deep on the ground, they came to Auchterarder, a country town lying almost straight west from Perth ten miles, and on the road betwixt Stirling and it, at four in the morning, Wednesday, the 25th of the said moneth. After they had

lodged themselves in that place, about nine of the clock in the forenoon of the said day they detached a party of betwixt two and three hundred foot and some few horsemen towards Blackfoord, ane other countrey town, lying as aforsaid on the road betwixt Stirling and Perth, two miles to the westward of Auchterarder and about eight miles from Stirling.

This party had not marched much more than half a mile from Auchterarder, when by a violent blowing and exceeding deepness of the snow they found themselves oblidged to force a guide, tho' they had William Maitland, son to James Maitland, innkeeper at Blackfoord, alongst with them, who knew that countrey perfectly well, and as both he and his father were bigotted Jacobites and Rebells, was both instrumentall in the ruine and burning of the countrey.

The guide's name was John Rebron, farmer of a countrey place called Greenwalls, where several of those clans had quartered before and some dayes after the battle of Dumblain, and, as he informed, they came with no small difficulty to the said James Maitland's house at Blackfoord betwixt twelve and one. When they came, one of the

horsemen told James of the order they had from the Pretender for burning of the countrey, and desired him if he had any friends in that place he would acquaint them with it, that they might save their cattle and throw their household plenishing (or furniture) out of doors.

When they came to that part of the road which is about half a mile to the northward of Glen-eagles, some of the clans who had quartered there about the time of the battle of Dumblain, proposed to go to it, but the storm blew so strong and the snow was so deep that the rest did not agree to it; so they went on their way to Blackfoord.

When they came to James Maitland's house, they halted, fed their horses, and then they sent out parties to all the houses of this town or village. A considerable party of them, with one or two of the horsemen at their head, went to the house of Jane Edie, a widow woman, which lyes in the middle of that town, and is one of the largest in it. She seeing them a-coming shut her door and called to see what they wanted, telling them that if they would not plunder and destroy what she had, she would willingly allow them to come in. To this they gave her no return, but threatened to shoot in

at the windowes, and fell a-breaking of the door, and very soon forced it open, and immediately after takeing what was most valuable and portable, sett the house on fire by sheaves of corn brought from the barn-yard, and being a lofted house and much wood in it, was very soon reduced to ashes. While this was a-doing, they sent about 100 men to the west end of the town to the house of James Brice, one of the men of most distinction of this place, and who had from the very beginning of the Rebellion stayed with the King's Army at Stirling. His wife, tho' at that time very tender and sickly, seeing them a-comeing, left the house, and, by the help of ane of her servants, made the best of her way towards the mountains throw the snow, that was exceeding deep. When they came into the house they caused put on a very great fire, pretending they were cold, and two or three of the horsemen rode round the house and yard, which, as it is the westmost of that town, lyes nearest to Stirling, and one of them was heard say, "What a pity that such a bonny farm and houses should be destroyed, as it is really by much the best in that place"; however, they sett all immediately on fire, and burnt down houses, corns, and everything to the ground,

There was a poor widow woman called Isobell Brice, who had a little house hard by, and some young children with her; she not believing they would be so cruel as to sett fire to her house whilst she and the poor children were in it, kept her door shutt, but to that they had no regard, but sett fire to it, so that when the flames reacht her she and the children had much to do to get out.

At the same time they sett fire to the house of David Holmes, and all the other houses of the town that they intended to burn.

When they were a-burning the house of Alexr. Gibsone, mertt., one of the horsemen came up and said, "I perceive this is a merchant's house, save his shop"; but to this the Highlanders gave no ear. They beat himself, rob'd him of what money was about him, took what was usefull for them in the shop, and burnt the rest. His wife seeing the bad usage of her husband fell down in a swoon, and the horseman who had called to save the shop, seeing a little child weltering in the snow, took it up and carryed it before him on the horse's neck to James Maitland's, to whose house, when they saw all the houses and corns quite burnt down, the whole party returned. We do not know who that

horseman was, but he was heard to say that for no king in Christendom would he ever have a hand or be concerned in executing so cruell and barbarous ane order. And so great ane effect had the sight of the children's lying upon the snow and the women's crying and tearing themselves, that some even of the barbarous Highlanders were seen to weep.

When they came to James Maitland's, tho' he had been told in the beginning that his house was not to be burnt, yet, to save appearances, they caused his own son, William Maitland, sett fire to one of his corn stacks, a little outhouse or byre at a little distance from the rest of his house, and caused burn a great deal of straw; so that when they left James's house it appeared to all the country to be on fire, but as soon as they were gone, his son William, with the help of some of his Jacobite neighbours, got it extinguished, and stayed in his father's house all the night after. They dealt much after the same manner by James Davidsone, officer or bayliff to a gentleman concerned in the Rebellion; they putt a smoke of straw in his house and left him to extinguish it, which he did,

But at their return towards Auchterarder they came to the house of Helen Edie, one of the most considerable inns on that road, and lyes at the east end of the town nearest to Auchterarder, and burnt it down with all that was in it to the ground; so that before they left Blackfoord, they believed all the houses, corns, hay, and everything else to be burnt, except the two houses above mentioned.

The minister's house lyes at half a mile's distance to the westward of this town. He had stayed at home, preached and prayed for King George and success to his arms, till he was threatened, and parties sent to seize him from the garrisons of Tullibardine and Bracko; upon which he was forced to retire and shelter himself with some of his well affected friends.

His wife seeing the flames at Blackfoord, and being informed, by some of the poor miserable people who came running to her, of the tragedy that was acted there, called for a trusty servtt., and, by the force of money and promises, prevailed with him to go to Stirling, which is within seven miles of that place, to give ane account to the Generall and other officers there of what was done and

acted at Blackfoord, and of the state of the countrey in generall. This seemed so extraordinary and incredible that there they rather looked on the messenger as a madman than gave any credit to what he related, so that they remained in a sort of suspense till next day, that they had expresses and messengers from all the severall parts of the countrey, giving accounts of the same fatall tragedies being acted in all the other parts of it.

Wee must still make this remark, that tho' the countrey on the south side of the road betwixt Blackfoord and Auchterarder is very populous, and a great many countrey houses in it, yet none of them was burnt or destroyed, because they for the most part belonged to persons and landlords that were in the Rebellion.

It would be endless to give account of all the hardships and acts of barbarous cruelty done. It may be easily imagined, considering the season of the year, the vast load of snow that lay then on the ground, the poor people, man wife and child, without the shelter of a house, without cloaths, meat, drink, or anything to support them, and little or no hopes of relief, for within a day or

two after, when they saw with their own eyes, from the high grounds to which they were retired for shelter, a second burning at Auchterarder, they were reduced to the utmost degree of distraction and despair.

ANE ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF DUNING, JANUARY 28TH, 1715-16

OWEVER much the Jacobites may say (as they seldom want words true or false to cover their wickedness) in their own vindication for their conduct during the time of their Rebellion; yet, I presume any who read the following, and like account of their management, will readily not be at a loss to make a judgement anent them.

Among other places that smarted under their cruelty, this poor place and paroch was one that suffered not a little, as will appear by the following account.

Upon Saturday, the 28th January, 1715-16, about five a clock at night, Lord George Murray

with the regiment of Rebells under his command, consisting of about 300 men, came to the village called Duning, lying about six miles south-west of Perth, in the Lord Rollo's interest, to execute a barbarous order geven him by the Pretender and his Generall, the E. of Mar. Haveing disposed of his men into barns and other waste houses prepared for them beforehand by their quarter-masters, he ordered a certain quantity of meall for each company, of the meall that had been exacted from the country about by way of tax, and had been laid up in my Lord Rollo's house of Duncrub, where a company of this regiment had for some time bygone keept garrison. The souldiers having spent about the space of four hours in prepareing the meall and refreshing themselves therewith, and what all they could find in the town, about nine the drums began to beat, and, according to orders formerly given them, they all appeared in arms in the midst of the town, where their Collonell intimat to them the order he had for burning the village, and commanded them immediately to begin the execution thereof, and so a melancholly and dismall tragedy commenced. They in a moment were scattered in

files through the whole town, and began to kindle the houses, lofts, and corn-yards.

While employed in this piece of horrid barbarity and inhumanity, they were very carefull to have their scouts watching at some distance without the village, being under great terror and fear of the approach of the King's Army, the only reason, together with the avarice of these wretches who much wanted money, why some few houses escaped the flames. Heart cannot conceive, nor can it be written in letters what a dolefull prospect it was to see the whole village in a moment putt in a flame, while men, women, and children were exposed to the injury of the weather and the rigour of that severe and stormy season, it being in the midst of a terrible storm of frost and snow, such as was not in Scotland these many years bygone. It would have pierced a heart in which there remained the very least spark of humanity to have heard the mournfull screechs and frightfull cryes of poor women while rocking their infants in cradles upon the snow in the open fields, and looking on their houses, the sanctuaries appointed by God for their protection from the injury of such a season, and

their corns, the provision and means of their subsistence crumbling in a moment into ashes. Such was the fear and terror of this cruell action struck to the poor people's hearts, that many of them did not, for a considerable time thereafter, recover themselves to any composure of mind, and some of them dyed in a few hours thereafter, particularly one man and two women, who had formerly been weak and tender, and thereby the less able to bear up under such a terrible surprisall, and to endure the sharp and cold air, the people about them being obliged to carry them out and lay them on the open fields, dyed that nixt day and day thereafter: and, indeed, a wonder of God's goodness it was that many more had not the same fate, especially young ones, considering what a season it was, and that they were oblidged to stand the whole long winter night, some of them almost, if not altogether, naked and hungry, people being in such confusion that they got not time to feed their young ones: and also considering in what hard circumstances they were afterwards in for want of houses to lodge in, the most of them haveing nothing left them to put on them or in them.

Such was the cruelty of these inhumane

wretches, that if any poor thing endeavoured so much as to pluck a sheaf of corn from the flames, perhaps to preserve the life of a perishing brute, they were sure to take it from them and throw it into the fire; yea, not only the rude and rascally soldiers did so, but even their officers, of whom better things might have been expected, particularly when one poor man—namely, Thomas Annan, was throwing some sheaves over a dyke from the burning stacks in his yard, Lord George Murray threw them in over the dyke again with his own hand, and ordered a kill in the bottom, wherein the poor man had hid some sheaves, to be put all on fire together.

The number of families that had their houses burnt that night within this little and small village and the confines thereof were thirty-three, besides barns, byres, and stables. Amongst other houses that were burnt was that of Mr William Reid, minister. He had, because of his age and infirmity, not left his house and paroch, and all the time of the Rebellion continued not only to pray for his Majesty King George, but exhorted the people in a most pathetick manner to stand firm in their duty and alleadgeance to his Majesty. He dyed

not many hours before the Rebell party came to burn that place, and his parishioners out of their duty and affection to him bury'd him after almost the party was in sight, which some of their leaders regreted, wishing he had been burnt in it.

Their partiality appeared here as well as in other places, for they did not burn the house of Robert Stewart, the best and largest in that town, because he had been very active during all the time of the Rebellion in putting in execution the orders of the Comittee of Provisions (so was a company of gentlemen called who satt at Perth all the time of the Rebellion and laid on the countrey contributions of money, fforage, and other necessaries for their army, in the most unequall and arbitrary manner, and levyed them by the outmost severetyes of military execution).

Some who were covetous capitulated, and saved some houses for money to their own privat pockets. The chief of these who managed this scandalous merchandise was Mungo Campbell, son to Collin Campbell, in Corymuchloch, who for a certain summ of money pass'd the house of George Kally and some others.

ANE ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF DALREOCH, JANUARY THE 29TH, 1715-16

ON Sunday, the 29th, by three in the morning, the Captains Stewart and Murray, with a detachement of that party that burned the houses and corns of Mr Haldane of Abruthven, came to Dalreoch, a barony belonging to Mr Haldane of Gleneagles, the most part of which was stocked by himself and manadged by his own servants. These they found all asleep, because they were expecting no such thing, for two nights before Mungo Campbell, son to Collin Campbell of Corymuchloch, had come with a party from the garrisone of Duncrub, and ordered them, under the pain of military executione, to put into the barns and thresh out great quantities of corn to be carryed

into the Army at Perth, who began then to be in want.

The first thing the party did was to carry a great quantity of the threshed straw, and, laying it round the stacks and houses, putt fire to all at the same time, so that with much adoe the servants and those that were in the houses escap'd; horses and cattle he had none, being taken away by the Rebells long before that time. While this farm and all that belonged to it was yet a-burning, another detachment sent by Lord George Murray from Duning, and commanded by the foresaid Mungo Campbell, came up (for Dalreoch lyes within a mile of Duning). He who had had many occasions to be well acquainted in that place perceiving that Stewart and Murray's party, who were but strangers, had by mistake not put fire to some corn stacks of Mr Haldane's which stood at some distance, went with his party and sett fire to them himself, and from that going towards the corn-yard of a tennent of Mr Haldane's, called John Pernie, in which there was a good many stacks, brought some quantity of burning straw and other materialls from Mr Haldane's corn-yard, and threatn'd to burn houses, corns, and all, if John

would not give him money. He declared upon oath that he had no more than one guinea, and that he would give. Mungo said he knew he had friends hard by that could help him to give more, so they went together to that friend's house, but the false alarm coming that the King's Army was approaching, he accepted of the thirty shillings, and went off with his party; and in passing at a boat hard by, and knowing that the boatman's house belonged to Mr Haldane, he lykewayes threatned to sett fire to it, but his fright was such that he at last accepted of a summ of money, and with his party pass'd over the water.

ANE ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF MUTHILL, JANUARY 28TH, 1715-16

UPON Saturday, the 28th day of January, 1715-16, a party of the Clans, about fifty men, consisting of the M'Donalds, M'Cleans, and Camerons, under the command of the Captain of Clanranald, came from Drummond Castle (where they were quartered) to the town of Muthill, under silence of night, betwixt eight and nine of the clock, and without any advertisement given, or time allowed the people to carry out their household furniture, sett the town on fire, and burnt down houses, household furniture, and corn stacks to ashes; which was done in such a barbarous manner as that they would not allow the poor people to save from the flames that of their furniture, which they might have done. As for instance, when the flames

had consumed ane honest merchant's house all to his shop, which was divided from the rest of his house by a stone wall, in order to save this much of his house which was about eight foot, his sons went up to the roof to cutt the thatch above the wall, that the fire might not proceed any further, they most barbarously presented their guns to fire at them if they should not come down, and so were oblidged to suffer that, which would have been a small refuge to the honest man and his numerous familie, to be burnt down with the rest. Ane other instance of the barbarity of this action: When they were burning the stack-yards they took special care to sett fire to every stack, and guarded them, so that the people were kept off from rescuing any of it from the fire. And when a certain person offered a considerable summ of money, to allow him to save what he could of one bear stack after it was kindled, and the fire proceeded a good length upon it, this was not granted, but the man beaten for demanding it. This was in a yard wherein there was reckoned to be more than two hundred bolls of victuall, all consumed. And such was their inhumanity, that in some houses the inhabitants narrowly escaped with their lives. In

one family they kindled a bed and a child in it, and had not the mother pulled it out of the flames, half stifled, it had been presently burnt. And what of the people's cloaths they had thrown out into the street to save them from the fire, they carried most of them away with them, leaving wives and children to starve with cold upon the snow in such a rigorous season. And that Lodovick Drummond of Westerfeddall, late Chamberlain to the Lord Drummond, a violent Papist, had a chief hand in influenceing to the burneing of these towns, and directed in the execution of that barbarous order, is notour. It was his common threatning, when he was dragging the poor people out to the Rebellion, that they who refused to go should have their houses burned, themselves hanged before their own door, and their cattle all driven to the camp at Perth. The loss sustained by the inhabitants of this town (tho' for the most part very poor), as they gave it in under their hands, upon which they are ready to depone, amounts to the summ of six thousand and ninety-six pounds seventeen shillings and ten pennies Scotts money, which is about five hundred pounds sterling.

ANE ACCOUNT OF THE BURNING OF CRIEFF, JANUARY 28TH, 1715-16

SIR,—In compliance with your desire, I give you the melancholy story of the burning of our town. Upon the 26th of January, 1715-16, came to Crieff about three hundred and fifty of the Clans, mostly M'Donalds and Camerons (haveing their orders of billetting signed by William Drummond, son to Lodovick Drummond of Westerfedells and factor to the Lord Drummond). The said William Drummond was a Brigadeer (as is given out) of Mar's Highlanders. These Rebels (I say), under the command of Clanranald, Captain Alexander M'Donald of Lundie (commandant when our town was burnt; a man void of all sense and humanity, every way shapen for executing any kind of

villany), Archibald M'Donald, son to Ronald Roy M'Donald, brother to Cappuch; M'Donald of Kylachonnell, M'Donald of Ardnadbie, M'Donald, younger of Tulloch; M'Clean of Ardgour, Allan Stuart, son to the tutor of Apin; Ewan Dow Cameron, brother-in-law to Glenlyon; Allan Cameron, lieutenant, Allan Cameron, ensign, and severall others who bore command, whose names I cannot yet come by. Upon their arrivall the honest inhabitants were in a consternation, fearing the same fate their honest neighbours of Auchterarder and Blackfoord had met with, bethought themselves the best for relief and for preventing the impending danger. So it's resolved upon, as the best expedient, that the honest gentlemen of the neighbourhood, particularly Anthony Murray of Dullary, Lochland, and Callendar, shall be bespoke to plead with the officers of the Rebells, that at least were there any evill determined, the inhabitants might have previous advertisement to carry off their effects. Upon the importunity of the people the said gentlemen came to town, and used all means to know if they had any designs of burning. The above-named Rebells (with whom also Lodovick Drummond above

designed was in company), who (as by the sequel of the story, you may readily conjecture, was privy to all their hellish plots) solemnly swore that they had no orders for burning of Crieff; and, sayes Lodovick Drummond—yea, swore by all that's sacred, were there any such thing in design he would certainly give premonition. Good God! what a deplorable state must we have been in, had such wicked men compassed their designs, of settleing a Popish pretender upon the throne; men, I say, whom the most solemn oaths and sacred tyes cannot bind. But to the story. Upon such solemn promises the honest gentlemen were satisfied, and the people amused into such security as that they carryed nothing out of the way; but had we not been infatuated, we might have taken warning, for the said Lodovick Drummond, upon parting the company, was heard by several honest men to've said to the commandant, "See, you cause your men execute orders punctually"; and again says to one, Mrs Baillie, a Papist, "I think, dame, you had best go and see my wife this night." And the said Baillie, as she's crossing the bridge of Earn, says to some of her acquaintances, "The people of Crieff have been complaining of scarceity of

fireing, but they shall have enough of it once this night"; but of this we did not hear till afterwards. Moreover, Lodovick Drummond said in the hearing of severals, upon seeing Crieff in flames, "O! but these Clans be dainty fellowes, and clever in executing their orders."

It is reported, sir, that my Lord Drummond, upon his knees importuned his pretending king to give orders for burning of Crieff, alleadgeing there needed be no scruple about it, it being his property; whereas it's notour that his whole rent payable to him by the town of Crieff does not exceed five pounds Scotts per ann. (8 shillings and 4 pence English). What in all the world could have tempted him to this, I cannot well comprehend, for Crieff lay six miles out of the Army's road. But when I reflect I'm satisfied it has been malice at the bottom, and that because of the loyalty of the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding many solicitations and threats, there were not four in the whole town joyned in the Rebellion. However, if it be so that my Lord Drummond was in earnest about it, I'm positive Lodovick Drummond never execute his Lord's will more faithfully and with better inclination

than in this. I had almost forgott to tell you, sir, that the Rebells, to render the people more secure, ordered peatts, straw, and candle be brought from the countrey, as if they had been to garrison here for some time (as, indeed, they gave out), which they made use of for the more speedy executing their cruell purposes: and further, it's convinceing that it was pure malice, and not any view that could be had in doing service to the Rebells, was the occasion of our calamity. Please to take notice, besides, that the family of Drummond had no good likeing to the town in generall, and that on account of our loyaltie. So, in particular, some belonging to that family—namely, Lodovick Drummond, entertained ane irreconcileable hatred against the Caws (a very honest people), upon what grounds I know not; for about some two years ago Lodovick openly, in a publick house, said, "He hoped to gett a fitt season for Glencoing the Caws of Crieff."

They began the tragedy at one Thomas Caw, his house, in the west end of the town, thus: the said Thomas and his unkind guest, Captain Cameron, discourseing together upon matters of indifferency, Cameron all of a sudden goes to the door, immediately returns, sayes to his men lodged in the

same house with him, "Up! to your arms! fire the house!" and that moment Cameron with his own hands kendled the house. Thus they surprizeingly fired all the houses in town; only some particular houses, where they expected goods of any value, they delayed till the best things were taken out, which they immediately carried off, which the people perceiving, gave themselves no further trouble of takeing out any more for the Rebells, but committed all to the flames. It seems very probable their cruelty had gone further, were they not affraid of Collonell Campbell's men, who garrison'd at Fordie, about three miles distant; for the said Thomas Caw, understanding that his father (who lodged in the next house) was in bed, made towards the door (where two of the Rebells stood with drawn swords) to carry out his father, a man upwards of eighty years. Say they to him, "Stand aff, else you're a dead man." "For God's sake," sayes the other, "allow me to take out my father that he perish not in the flames." "No," say they, "lett all burn together." They put fire also to one Andrew Allan, his house; to one John Bryson's, their children being in bed, and severall others; and some (particularly ane old woman called Mary

Clow) was awakened by the flames, and with much adoe escaped. To show you further the bad designs they had, they were importunatt with severalls I could name, and that with all the airs of kindness, to go to bed, and that but a few minutes before they fired their houses. As for our effects, you may readily guess, sir, we were in little concern about them when our lives were in so much hazard. These who made any feints to withstand carrying off their goods were unmercifully beaten. In short, they brought eighteen horses from Gask and thereabouts, which they carryed of all loaden (besides all the horses in Crieff that made for their purpose) with the spoil of our town, and least the town's-people should have carryed in of their effects to either kirk or meeting-house, which were not to be burnt, they kept the keys of both, and not half a penny worth would they allow to be carried out of town. Our honest neighbours of Dunning and Auchterarder, &c., sure mett with very harsh treatment; yet they had some little time to save their effects; particularly the people of Dunning not only had time to save some of their most valuable effects, but, yea, even to take out the flooring of their lofts.

Sir, from thir few instances of the many severities we mett with, it's easie for you to conjecture what must have been the sad and fatall consequences of such inhumane, barbarous, Popish-like, and hellish cruelty. When I do reflect upon the maletreatment we mett with, it does at once refresh my memory of all the instances of Popish cruelty I ever read of in history. The poor women (*horresco referens*) exposed to the open fields with their sucking infants, and scarce a ragg left to cover them from ane extremity of cold. Likeways severall vigorous men and women (I might name) were struck with such terror that they survived the burneing but a very few dayes. These are a few of the many unavoidable consequents of such barbarities. Many have dyed since, and no doubt their deaths occasioned by cold contracted in barns, stables, and old hutts where they were oblidged to lodge, and that in a very rigorous season as has been of many years, having no cloaths save what honest, charitable neighbours were pleased of their goodness to bestow. To say no more (this being too mellancholly a subject to insist further upon), I presume were there a particular account geven (by some sufficient hand)

of the bad usage the people of this Stewartry of Strathearn mett with from the Rebells, it could not miss to produce ane utter abhorrence of a Popish pretender in the heart of any thinking man, who countenanced, yea, even ordered the execution of such cruelties. I shall say no more, save that I am, sir, your &c.

ACCOUNT OF COMPENSATION PAID BY GOVERNMENT TO THE SUFFERERS BY THE BURNING OF AUCHTERARDER, DUNNING, BLACKFORD, MUTHILL, AND CRIEFF, IN 1715

ACCOUNT OF COMPENSATION PAID BY GOVERNMENT TO THE SUFFERERS BY THE BURNING OF AUCHTERARDER, DUNNING, BLACKFORD, MUTHILL, AND CRIEFF, IN 1715

NOTWITHSTANDING the promises made in the Chevalier's proclamation issued on his leaving Scotland, nothing was done by the Court of St. Germains, the promise being probably viewed there as contingent to be fulfilled on recovery of his right. Whether or not this proclamation had

The Account of Compensation here given is taken from the Extract Decree of the Commissioners of Inquiry in the possession of W. L. Young, Esq., Auchterarder, to whom I am much indebted for the use he has kindly given me of that interesting document.

any effect in causing the Hanoverian Government to declare that the losses would be indemnified we cannot say, but, not long after the conclusion of the war, steps were taken towards that end.

Claims having been made by the sufferers, a Commission of Inquiry was instituted, and by a decree of these Commissioners, dated 14th October, 1721, it was found and declared that the claimants therein particularly named had fully proved the extent of the losses by them actually and really sustained by the said burnings in Scotland, to the amount of the several sums of money thereby to them respectively decreed, and as they were well affected to His Majesty and Government, that they were well entitled to the payment of the several sums therein and hereafter mentioned, amounting in all to the sum of £4453 7s 6d sterling, to be paid out of the first of the nett produce arising by the rents, profits, or sale of the forfeited estates, after payment of all just and lawful debts affecting the same, and of the salaries and other necessary charges of the Commissioners for executing the Acts of Parliament made thereanent, and that one or more certificates of debentures should be issued for payment of the same.

Upon the 6th of October, 1722, the Commissioners issued a decree or debenture to and in favour of David Haldane of Aberuthven, one of the claimants, for himself, and as assignee to the other claimants therein and afternamed, for payment to him of £2502 5s 11-12d sterling, part of the sums contained in the decree above mentioned, and certified that he in his own right and in the right of the several other persons hereinafter named were justly entitled to the sums after specified, viz.:

		Sterling.
1.	To the said David Haldane in his own right,	£383 13 4
2.	To ditto in the right of John Gloig, in Dunning, ...	27 8 9
	To Patrick Don, there, ...	5 0 0
4.	To John Niven, there, ...	4 6 1½
5.	To Robert Halson, there, ...	2 15 6⅔
6.	To James Donaldson, weaver, there, ...	6 2 2⅔
7.	To George Kellie, there, ...	13 0 0
8.	To William Willite, ...	3 12 2⅔
9.	To Patrick Martin, there, ...	12 4 5½
10.	To John Kellie, there, ...	4 8 10½
11.	To Jean Caw, spouse to Duncan Drummond, there, ...	8 6 8
12.	To Margaret Wartlaw, widow, ...	1 0 0
13.	To John Chalmers, there, ...	16 13 4
14.	To David Forbes, baker, there, ...	3 17 9½
15.	To Andrew Stewart, in Dunning, ...	6 13 4

		Sterling.
16.	To William Bain, there, ...	£2 15 6⅔
17.	To James More, there, ...	2 6 8
18.	To Margaret Bull, there, relict of Hugh MacEwan, ...	4 8 10⅓
19.	To William Dow, there, ...	9 8 10⅔
20.	To Grizel Chalmers, relict of William Whittack, there, ...	9 8 10⅔
21.	To James Annan, there, ...	17 0 0
22.	To Andrew Gloig, there, ...	3 0 6⅔
23.	To John Kippin, there, ...	2 17 9⅓
24.	To Elizabeth Ross, there, ...	3 8 4⅓
25.	To Michael Steedman, there, ...	8 6 8
26.	To Thomas Kippin, there, ...	1 13 4
27.	To John Balmain, there, ...	18 16 8
28.	To Thomas Young, there, ...	3 0 0
29.	To David Clow, writer in Damside, ...	43 14 2
30.	To James George, in Aberuthven, ...	4 3 4
31.	To Archibald Smith, there, ...	33 6 8
32.	To Giles Hepburn, there, ...	4 8 4
33.	To James Barnett, in Loanfoot, and Thomas Gibson, his son-in-law, ...	5 11 4⅔
34.	To John Gibson, in Aberuthven, ...	1 13 4
35.	To John Pitcathly, there, ...	0 12 8
36.	To David Macra, in Baillyland, ...	2 13 4
37.	To John Penny, there, ...	2 10 0
38.	To James Don, in Auchterarder, ...	2 8 11⅔
39.	To Isobel Graham, relict of William Bryce, there, ...	5 0 0
40.	To Christina Potter, relict of Mr John Steedman, minister of Auchterarder, ...	46 11 8

		Sterling.
41.	To Ninian Fiskin, there, ...	£20 0 0
42.	To Robert Richard, there,...	9 18 4
43.	To Thomas Graham, there, ...	100 0 0
44.	To Andrew Mailer, senior, there, ...	53 1 8
45.	To Janet Paterson, there, ...	32 14 5½
46.	To Christian Mailer, there, ...	4 1 2½
47.	To William Din, there, ...	28 14 11½
48.	To Katharine Morries, there, ...	2 10 0
49.	To Andrew Christie, there, ...	8 6 8
50.	To David Graham, there, ...	31 0 6
51.	To William Burgh, there, ...	28 2 3½
52.	To Robert Donaldson, there, ...	5 0 0
53.	To Duncan MacCan, there, ...	6 13 4
54.	To Robert Dougal, there, ...	2 15 6½
55.	To John Barnet, there, ...	28 10 6½
56.	To James Strathy, there, ...	18 0 4
57.	To Margaret Mailor, there, ...	8 6 8
58.	To Archibaid M'Nab, there, ...	4 3 9½
59.	To William Currach, there, ...	8 6 8
60.	To William Roy,...	2 10 0
61.	To William Bain, there, ...	3 6 8
62.	To John Graham, there, ...	19 3 4
63.	To David Donaldson, there, ...	26 13 4
64.	To Isobel Donaldson, in Auchterarder, ...	0 15 0
65.	To Patrick Reid, there, ...	4 3 4
66.	To Robert Din, there, ...	1 0 0
67.	To Margaret Drummond, there, ...	0 15 5
68.	To Christian Cugene, there, ...	1 13 4
69.	To Mr William Donaldson, there, ...	97 16 11
70.	To James Morrison, there,...	9 6 8

		Sterling.
71.	To James Shearer, there, ...	£117 13 4
72.	To David Taylor, there, ...	8 4 11⅓
73.	To James Graham, there, ...	12 9 0
74.	To Ann Syme, there, ...	2 1 2
75.	To Janet Barnet, there, ...	2 12 1⅛
76.	To Katharine Taylor, there, ...	2 11 3
77.	To James Oswald, there, ...	14 11 7
78.	To Beatrix Airth, there, ...	4 3 4.
79.	To Agnes Morison, relict of John Crawford, there, ...	4 18 4
80.	To William Bell, there, ...	25 0 0
81.	To Katharine Donaldson, there, ...	1 6 8
82.	To James Bain, there, ...	5 16 8
83.	To Agnes Gloig, relict of Andrew Elder, there, ...	1 16 8
84.	To Andrew Mailor, junior, in Auchterarder, ...	53 1 11⅛
85.	To Robert Din, in Kirkland of Aberuthven, ...	24 9 5
86.	To James Gibson, in Auchterarder, ...	4 3 4
87.	To David Holmes, in Mill of Ogilvie, and Parish of Blackford, ...	27 11 8
88.	To Helen Edie, there, ...	33 1 9
89.	To Isobel Bryce, there, ...	8 6 8
90.	To Alexander Gibson, there, ...	13 16 2
91.	To Jean Eady, there, ...	35 11 10
92.	To Robert Sharp, there, ...	13 11 10
93.	To John Hepburn, there, ...	1 10 0
94.	To John Robertson, there, ...	16 6 1⅓
95.	To William MacRoby, there, ...	1 5 0
96.	To John Haldane of Gleneagles, Esq., ...	611 8 0
97.	To Mr James Graham, writer in Edinburgh, ...	100 0 0

		Sterling.
98.	To John Paterson, formerly residenter in Auchterarder, ...	£13 2 8
99.	To John Paterson, late Surgeon in Auchterarder,	35 14 2⅔

Upon the 25th of July, 1723, the Commissioners issued another certificate or debenture to and in favour of David Caw, merchant in Crief, Andrew Brown, merchant, there, and Thomas Caw, brewer, there, three of the said claimants for themselves, and as assignees to the other claimants respectively afternamed for the sums aftermentioned (part of the sums in the decree above recited), viz. :—

		Sterling.
100.	To the said David Caw, in his own right, ...	£189 0 2
101.	To Andrew Brown, in his own right, ...	20 15 0
102.	To Ditto, for the creditors of William Taylor,	13 13 4
103.	To the said Thomas Caw, in his own right, ...	41 11 8
	And to the saids David Caw, Andrew Brown, and Thomas Caw, for the shares of the other claimants, viz. :—	
104.	To Thomas Caw, son to the deceast Thomas Caw, in Crief, ...	74 11 4⅔
105.	To John Bryson, there, ...	10 0 6
106.	To Andrew Allan, there, ...	42 7 9⅔
107.	To Andrew Clow, there, ...	58 6 8
108.	To Edward Burgh, there,...	21 19 7
109.	To James Hayley, there, ...	1 16 8
110.	To John Caw, there, ...	60 15 7
111.	To Margaret Burgh, there, ...	5 13 5

		Sterling.
112.	To John MacIntyre, there, ...	£3 15 11
113.	To John Caw, senior, there, ...	10 6 0^{8}
114.	To John Galloway, there, ...	4 11 1
115.	To Ann Greig, there, ...	4 1 2
116.	To James Sharp, there, ...	8 12 2
117.	To John Clark, there, ...	2 9 0^{3}
118.	To John Paterson, there, ...	1 0 0
119.	To David Tosach, there, ...	11 19 0^{8}
120.	To Alexander Caw, there, ...	35 1 7
121.	To Thomas Peat, there, ...	19 11 5
122.	To David Lyall, there, ...	22 11 0
123.	To Isobel MacLain, there, ...	14 8 5
124.	To John Tait, there, ...	5 6 9
125.	To James Malloch, there,[1]	20 4 4
126.	To Janet Roy, there, ...	29 5 4
127.	To Janet Wilson, there, ...	1 9 8
128.	To Thomas M'Culloch, there, ...	2 6 10
129.	To David Murray, there, ...	5 0 0
130.	To John Reid, there, ...	2 7 7
131.	To John Taylor, there, ...	75 6 5
132.	To Anthony Murray of Dallary, ...	164 16 1
133.	To Peter Murray of Dallary, ...	14 9 5
134.	To John Fisher, merchant in Crief, ...	68 1 6^{8}
135.	To Thomas Caw, son to the said David Caw, ...	37 3 9^{2}
136.	To Robert Anderson, merchant in Crief, ...	32 10 0
137.	To Elizabeth Toshach, relict of Peter Lawson, there, ...	1 5 8

[1]James Malloch, Stabler in Crieff, was the father of David Mallet, the Poet.

		Sterling.
138.	To David Yeat, there, ...	3 10 4
139.	To James Burgh, there, ...	1 10 0
140.	To the Representatives of David Shearer, there, and John Thomson, merchant in Perth,	£67 5 0
141.	To Patrick Donaldson, in Crief, ...	2 1 8
142.	To Donald Malloch, in Crief, ...	2 8 10
143.	To John Mullion, there, ...	4 6 2
144.	To James Mullion, there,...	0 18 7
145.	To Hugh Ramsay, there, ...	11 3 4
146.	To Helen Graham, relict of Patrick Murray of Dallary, ...	5 11 2
147.	To John Cameron, formerly in Crief, now in Glasgow, ...	206 6 4½
148.	To James M'Culloch, some time in Crief, now officer of the Customs at Montrose, ...	55 11 1¼
149.	To Thomas Guild, in Crief, ...	30 16 7
150.	To William Alice, in Muthill, ...	26 9 2
151.	To John More, there, ...	9 0 2½
152.	To Donald Sinclair, there, ...	2 15 6½
153.	To Agnes Roy, there, ...	3 10 0
154.	To David Tainsh, there, ...	1 16 1½
155.	To Andrew Morrison, there, ...	7 14 4
156.	To John Brown, there, ...	4 3 4
157.	To Mary Clow, there, ...	4 19 2
158.	To Mary MacLachlan, there, ...	1 1 10
159.	To Mr William Haley, there, ...	18 6 2
160.	To John MacLeish, there, in right of Alexander MacLeish, ...	15 7 0
161.	To John MacLeish, there, ...	5 0 0
162.	To Alexander Ferguson, there, ...	5 6 8

		Sterling.
163.	To James MacLeish, there, ...	8 16 0
164.	To Andrew More, there, ...	11 7 0
165.	To William Forbes, there, ...	£20 13 4
166.	To Robert Gloig, there, ...	5 15 0
167.	To William Taylor, in Crief, ...	8 13 4
168.	To Duncan MacEwan, there, ...	9 1 8
169.	To James Taylor, there, ...	2 13 4
170.	To Janet Roy, there, ...	3 6 8
171.	To Barbara Barnet, there, ...	6 18 2
172.	To Finlay Morrison, ...	11 7 9
173.	To Malcolm MacLeish, there, ...	8 8 4
174.	To Edward Bain, son of Robert Bain, there,	3 6 8
175.	To Helen Hutton, there, ...	6 2 2½
176.	To John Berry, there, ...	6 5 0
177.	To Grizel Caw, at Mill of Ogilvy, in the Parish of Blackford, ...	83 6 8

The claimants having at sundry times made applications to the Barons of Exchequer and Board of Treasury for payment of the sums in the said two debentures and interest thereof, the Barons of Exchequer, on the 5th of August, 1777, disallowed the prayer of the last petition with regard to the interest on the said debentures, and ordered £1300 to be paid to George Haldane of Gleneagles, Esq., in part of the sums in the said debentures, and upon the 16th of

November, 1777, they ordered the remainder thereof to be paid.

Mr Haldane of Gleneagles appealed to the House of Lords against the order of the Barons, so far as respected the question of interest, and their Lordships, by their judgment, dated the 16th of March, 1778, ordered that the appeal be dismissed, the same being incompetent from the Barons of Exchequer, acting ministerially as a Board of Treasury, under the special direction of an Act of Parliament.

Upon this Mr Haldane brought an action before the Court of Session against the Officers of State, and against the Honourable Mr Elphinston, assignee of the late Lord Marishall, concluding for payment of £13,000 sterling, or such other sum as should be found due to the pursuer, principal and interest, upon the said debentures.

This process and a counter process, at the instance of Mr Elphinston, against Mr Haldane for repetition of the sums paid him, came before Lord Kaimes, and he, having reported the whole to the Lords, they by their interlocutor, dated the 18th of November, 1779, found that no claim for interest "lyes to Mr Haldane upon the said two

debentures." Mr Haldane gave in a reclaiming petition, but it was refused, and thereafter he entered an appeal to the House of Lords, who affirmed the sentence of the Court of Session.

Mr Haldane received from the Exchequer the following sums:—

On the 10th of August, 1777, ...	£750	11	$8\frac{6}{12}$
And on 27th November, 1777, ...	3507	5	$3\frac{8}{12}$
	£4257	17	$0\frac{2}{12}$
And he agreed to pay interest on it at the rate of 4%, which at Whitsunday, 1781, amounted to	£510	18	$9\frac{10}{12}$
	£4768	15	10

Mr Haldane claimed expenses incurred by him, which included his expenses of three journeys to London in 1770, 1772, and 1778, amounting to £200, with interest thereon, and the expenses of the two appeals and other expenses incurred to counsel and agents, amounting in all to £1234 13s 10d. This sum being deducted from the sum of £4768 15s 10d received, left the sum of £3474 2s for division among the heirs of the sufferers, and was paid to them accordingly.

RENTAL OF THE ESTATE OF PERTH
IN 1748-9.
PARISH OF AUCHTERARDER

RENTAL OF THE ESTATE OF PERTH IN 1748-9

RENTAL of the Estate of Perth, which belonged to James Drummond, late of Perth (attainted for high treason), lying in the parishes of Muthill, Comrie, Strowan, Ochterarder, Dumblane, Callendar in Monteith, Port of Monteith, Balquhidder, Killine, Crieff, and Cargill, and Shire of Perth.

Taken up by David Bruce, Esq., one of the Surveyors of the Forfeited Estates in Scotland.

PARISH OF OCHTERARDER.

Tenants' Names.	Possessions.	Money Rent and Converted Casualtys, &c.	Meal.	Bear.
John Din,	for a croft of the lands of Ochterarder, ...	£15 5 0		
John Roy,	for a croft of said lands, ...	15 5 0		
John Kid,	for a croft of said lands, ...	10 0 0		

Tenants' Names. Possessions.	Money Rent and Converted Casualtys, &c.	Meal.	Bear.
James Gardiner, for a croft of said lands,	10 0 0		
William Din, for a croft and a half of said lands, ...	28 0 0		
Ludovick Imbrie, for a croft and a half of said lands, ...	16 0 0		
Jean Sim, for half a croft of said lands, .	10 0 0		
Andrew Chrystie, for two crofts and a half of said lands, ...	30 0 0		
Gavin Drummond, for the half of the Chapple Croft, ...	10 0 0		
Patrick Hepburn, for the other half thereof,	10 0 0		
George Grahame, for a croft of said lands,	15 0 0		
Thomas Harrower, for a croft of said lands,	15 0 0		
Robert Din, for a croft of said lands, ...	10 0 0		
James Drummond, for half a croft of said lands, ...	10 0 0		
Charles Drummond, for half a croft of said lands, ...	10 0 0		
James Bayne, for a croft of said lands, ...	20 0 0		
William Carrick, for a croft of said lands,	10 0 0		
Thomas Drummond, for a croft of said lands, ...	20 0 0		
Mr Robert Drummond, for a croft of said lands, ...	12 0 0		
John Cowan, for a croft of said lands, ...	10 0 0		
James Drummond, for his crofts of the said lands and a dwelling-house,	39 13 4		
Ditto., for the half of West Kirktoun,	120 0 0		

Tenants' Names.	Possessions.	Money Rent and Converted Casualtys, &c.	Meal.	Bear.
James Drummond,	for a fourth part of Borelandbogg Park, ...	74 19 6		
William Shedden,	for a fourth part of said Park, ...	74 19 6		
Andrew Barnet,	for the other half of West Kirktoun, ...	103 0 0		
John Barnet, Thomas Barnet,	for the Middle and East Mailings of East Kirktoun, ...	166 13 4		
David Malcolm,	for the Miln of Ochterarder and miln lands thereof,	87 6 8	36	
Ditto.,	for the pendicle called Drumtersum, ...	72 0 0		
James Shedden,	for his feu in Ochterarder,	15 0 0		
William Reid,	for his feu there, ...	0 12 0		
William Brough,	for his feu there, ...	4 0 0		
Ditto.,	for a fourth part of Borlandbogg Park, ...	74 19 6		
William Carrick,	for his feu in Ochterarder,	1 12 0		
James Barnet,	for Castlemains, ...	76 10 0	8	8
Ditto.,	for a feu in Ochterarder, ...	9 0 0		
Ditto.,	for a fourth part of Borelandbogg Park, ...	74 19 6		
John Smeaton, George M'Leish,	for Nether Forden, ...	284 0 0	23	
James Couper,	for Middle Forden, ..	240 0 0		
James Tran,	for West Forden, ...	156 0 0		
David Fenton,	for Gardub, ...	156 0 0		

Tenants' Names.	Possessions.	Money Rent and Converted Casualtys, &c.	Meal.	Bear.
John Miller, for Powhillock,	... ...	186 0 0		
John Barnet, for Whitefold,	... ...	96 0 0		
James Stiell, for Clartymyre,	... ...	80 0 0		
Alexander Drummond, for Kirkhill,	...	66 13 4		
Total yearly rent of the lands of Perth in the Parish of Ochterarder is		£2546 8 8	67	8
The above victual, amounting to 75 Bolls, being converted at 8 Merks Scots per Boll, is	... ...	400 0 0		
Total neat yearly rent of the lands of Perth in said parish in Scots money,	... ...	£2946 8 8		
In Sterling,	... ...	£145 10 $8\frac{2}{3}$		

N.B.—The tenants pay the king's cess, minister's stipend, schoolmaster's salary, and haill other public burdens, over and above their rents.

TRIAL OF VIOLET MAR FOR WITCHCRAFT

M

TRIAL OF VIOLET MAR FOR WITCHCRAFT

THE following brief notice in the Books of Adjournal of this trial awakens futile curiosity. As has been observed, from the singular respectability of the assize the accused must have been of superior rank, and it may be added that the charge of attempting the life of the Regent of Scotland, the Earl of Morton, was one of no ordinary kind. The lady incriminated lived at Kildeis, in the neighbourhood of Muthill, and the assize were selected from neighbouring proprietors.[1]

[1] Mr Pitcairns thinks that the Kildeis referred to was in the Barony of Methven, where there is a place called Kildeis Land; but there can be little doubt, looking to the fact of the jury being chosen from the neighbouring proprietors, that Kildeis, in the parish of Muthill, was the residence of Violet Mar.

(Mr THOMAS GILBERT, Justice Depute.)

Witchcraft, &c.

1577, Oct. 24—Violet Mar, in Kildeis, dilaitit of the using of sorcerie, witchcraft, and incantatione with invocatione of spreittis at the times contenit in the said dittay.

Assize.

William Drummonde, at the Myll of Nab; Johnne Grahame, appeirand of Calandare; David Murray of Galdwell; George Marshall of Innerpethie; George Drummond of Balloch; James Drummond, in Auchtirardour; Johnne Drummond of Pitkennectie; David Murray, in North Kynkell; Johnne Drummond, in Layonoch; Hew Merschell, in North Kinkell; George Drummond *alias* Gawir, in Strageyth; Andro Millar, in Balloclochargye; Johnne Andersoun, thair; Patryk Murray, in Auchtirtyr; Johne Drummond, in South Kinkell.

Verdict—The said Violet conuict be Assyise of the poynt of dyttay conteinit in hir awin depositionis and confessioun maid of hir tressonabill undertaking to put down my Lord Regentis Grace by witchcraft at the tyme and place conteinit in the same depositionis. Item fylit for ane commoune refare of sorcerie, libbis, and charmes, and abusare of the pepill aganis the lawis of God and manne.

Absen ab Assisa, Malcum Drummond of Bordland; Gilbert Moyll, in Alloquhy; Androw Ramsay, in Pittincleroch; Patrik Maxtoune of Cultoquhy; Patrik Drummond of Moinzie.

Violet Mar was found guilty, as the word "convict" appears on the margin of the record, which, however, does not bear the usual marking by the Justiciary Clerk of sentence having

been pronounced. It has been suggested as probable that it was referred to the Lord Regent and Privy Council, and when pronounced omitted to be inserted in the record.

SALMON FISHINGS ON THE EARN

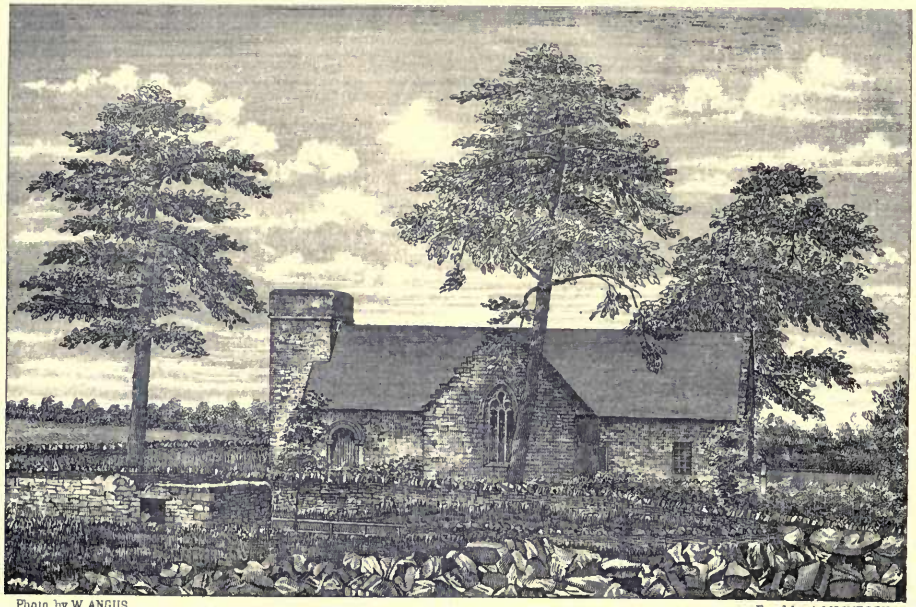

Photo by W. ANGUS. Engd by A. Mc INTOSH

Collegiate Church of Tullibardine.

SALMON FISHING ON THE EARN

CONSIDERABLE dissatisfaction has for many years existed in regard to a dam-dyke across the River Earn, with cruives therein for taking salmon, erected near Dupplin. The proprietors on the upper reaches of the river complain that the effect of this dyke is to prevent the fish going up, and thus injurious to their rights of property. Remonstrances by public bodies and private proprietors have been made, but the dyke remains.

In introducing the subject, attention is drawn to the fact that the alleged grievance is not of modern origin, but of very ancient date. The predecessor of the present proprietor of Dupplin and Aberdalgie estate was Lord Oliphant of Aberdalgie.

On 7th August, 1610, a complaint was made to

the Privy Council by John, Earl of Montrose; John, Earl of Tullibardin; and Sir James Cunynghame of Glengarnock, setting forth that divers Acts of the Scottish Parliament were passed, ordaining all cruives or dams made in fresh water for rivers that are "corst or set within the flood mark" to be destroyed, as tending to the destruction of smolts and fry of salmon fish (1581, ch. xv.); and the late Laurence, Lord Oliphant, first in 1566, and again in 1583, having set up certain cruives and dams on the water of the Erne, be-east the coble of Forteviot—to the "grite spoyll" of all kinds of fish in the said water—charges had been given to the Sheriff of Perth in both these years, to cast down the said dams. The said charges having been executed, and Lord Oliphant having duly obeyed the same, there had been no violation of the said Act on the said water till lately, when Laurence, now Lord Oliphant, had resolved to set up a new dam on the said water between the complainers and the water mouth, and so not only to spoil them of their fishing in the said water, wherein they are heritably infeft, but also to destroy the whole fish, young and old, within the said water, thereby making the said river, which was "verie

ritche and plentifull of fischeis," to become "altogidder barren and void of fischeis, to the grite hurte of the commonwele." Lord Oliphant appearing, and the Earl of Tullibardin, but neither of the other complainers, the Lords, in regard that the decision of this matter will depend on the heritable right claimed by the defender to the erecting of a dam of the said water, continue the case until 15th March next, and, meanwhile, discharge the defender from setting up any dams, cruives, or yairs on the said water.

On 10 Aug., 1610, Lord Erskine became bound by Act of Caution for John, Earl of Tullibardin, in 3000 merks, and for William, Master of Tullibardin, in 2000 merks, not to harm Laurence, Lord Oliphant.

On 1 Aug., 1611, a complaint was made to the Privy Council by Laurence, Lord Oliphant, and Sir Thomas Hammiltoun of Bynnie, for His Majesty's interest, as follows:—Lord Oliphant having resolved to build a mill on his lands of Dupline, "first causit cast the lead and wattergang for the said mylne, and biggit ane dam, weill and substantiouslie gairdit with fourty tua cupplis of aik," for holding the water of the mill,

and expected to have finished the work without any trouble, "now in this tyme of universall obedience and quietness under His Majesteis' most happie and blissit governament." But, in July then last, William, Master of Tullibardin; Sheriff of Perth, Sir Mungo and Robert Murrayis, sons of Johnne, Earl of Tullibardin, with others to the number of 100 horsemen and 300 footmen, of whom many were the said Earl's men, and the rest broken Highlanders, including fugitives of the Clan Gregour, armed with bows, habershons, targs, pole-axes, two-handed swords, and with hagbuts and pistolets, came about three o'clock in the morning to the said dam, and destroyed it, cutting with axes his whole forty-two cupples of oak with twelve other pieces of "grite treis" lying beside the dam. Charge had been given to the defenders, including the said Earl, to answer, and now, pursuers appearing personally, and the Earl and Master of Tullibardin being present for themselves, and the other defenders being also present, the Lords find the convocation of the leiges in arms, and with hagbuts and pistolets, and the destroying of the dam and cutting of the cupples and timber thereof, to be clearly

proved against the said Master, and that it was done with the foreknowledge of the Earl, and therefore ordain both to enter in ward in the Castle of Edinburgh; but they assoilzie the defenders from having some of the Clan Gregour in the company at the time libelled.

On 16 Aug., 1611, Sir Thomas Hammiltoun of Bynnie, for His Majesty's interest, and John, Earl of Tullibardin, as landlord to Thomas Mitchell and Johne McEwne, his tenants, complained that, on 15 July last, Laurence, Lord Oliphant, accompanied by a number of his men, all armed with certain weapons, and with hagbuts and pistolets, set upon the said tenants in the highway at Dalcharrochie, wounded them, and then led them as prisoners to the place of Duplene, where he would have hanged them but for the "grite entreatie" of Sir John Lindsay, fiar of Kynfawnis. Lord Oliphant then cast them in the "pit and thevis hole" of Dupline, and detained them there divers days and nights without meat, drink, or other necessaries. After nine days he brought them "fetterit and bundin thair handis behind thair back to Edinburgh." All this the said tenants, being free subjects, taken for no

recent crime, and the defender having no power over them. Both parties appearing, the Lords find that Oliphant has violated the laws in so far as he had pistolets in his company the time libelled, and therefore ordain him to keep ward within the burgh of Edinburgh till relieved. His defence for taking and warding the said tenants having been that, foregathering with the said tenants and with Symone Loutefute and Robert Quhite, and seeing hagbuts and pistolets in their company, he had apprehended Mitchell and McEwne and committed them to ward, as required by Act of Parliament made in 1597. The Lords, having considered the defence, assoilzie Lord Oliphant from all pain for his taking of the said tenants. A further complaint was lodged for the Earl of Tullibardin by Sir Thomas Hammiltoun for His Majesty's interest, setting forth that the barony of Gask, with the right of fishing on the water of Erne from the mouth thereof on both sides up to the said barony, belonging to the said Earl heritably, he and his predecessors, past memory of man, had been in the peaceable possession thereof, the late Laurence, Lord Oliphant, good-sire of the present Lord Oliphant, having been discharged by the ordinary

courts of justice, first in the time of Queen Mary, and since then in His Majesty's own time, from erecting dams on the said water, that matters have rested now for thirty years. Lately, however, Laurence, the present Lord Oliphant, had resolved to renew his grandfather's attempt to erect dams on the said water; and the Lords of Secret Council having discharged him from building his dam till the question between him and the said Earl had been decided by the ordinary judge, the said Lord, impatient of having to prosecute his right according to law, had resolved by strong hand to build a dam on the said water, and with "grite diligence pat the same up." Knowing the said Earl was thereby "havelie prejudgeit in his right," and that it was, therefore, necessary that the work should be prosecuted with force, he and certain of his servants, viz., Niniane Oliphant, Johnne New, Henry Oliphant, Johnne Miller, Richard Dae, Johnne Duncane, William Keir, Thomas Meinzies, Thomas Sword, and Wm. Baxter, had, on the fields of Dupline and at a mill, from 11 to 15 July last, borne hagbuts and pistolets, ridden "athorte the cuntrey" therewith, and to the "forder contempt of law brought certain hagbuts of found to

Lord Oliphant's work at Dupline, plantit the same in a little house neir by, made murdreis hoillis within the same house of purpois to schote and slane all such personis as sould have interrupit the said works." Both parties appearing, the Lords assoilzie the defender from the charge of having had hagbuts and pistolets in his company, and remit the matter of the dam to be pursued before the judge competent.

On 24 Feb., 1612, the Lords of Privy Council, who had been nominated by John, Earl of Tullibardin, and William, Master of Tullibardin, and by Laurence, Lord Oliphant, on the other side, for settling the dispute, remitted it to the Lords of Council and Session, and in the meantime ordained the parties to suffer the dams to rest as they were till decree be given in the case.

We do not know the ultimate result of the contention between the parties. The extracts above given from the Privy Council records should prove interesting at the present time, when the question as to the obstruction of the salmon fishing on the Earn is again raised. They are also curious as giving a graphic account of the manner in which great proprietors at the time endeavoured to assert their rights,

JOHN BRUGH, THE WARLOCK OF FOSSOWAY

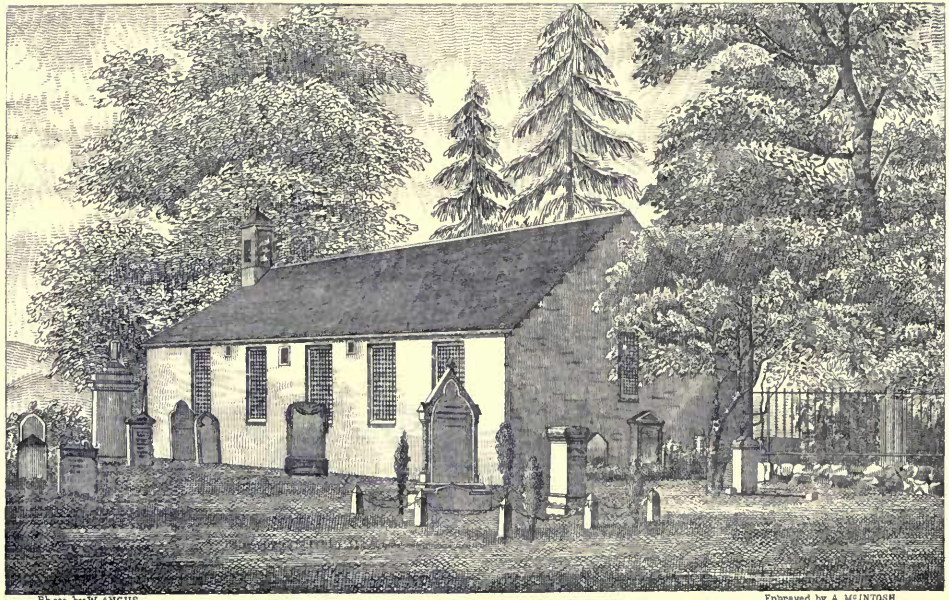

Photo. by W. ANGUS. Engraved by A. McINTOSH.

Glendevon Church.

JOHN BRUGH, THE WARLOCK OF FOSSOWAY

NOT many years after the execution of Alexander Drummond, John Brugh, in the Brae of Fossoway, was brought to trial on a similar charge. Like Drummond, his practice appears to have been extensive, and with his fate before his eyes, it is strange he was not deterred from exercising his imaginary powers. His residence, though on the other side of the Ochils and in the parish of Fossoway, being within the ancient Stewartry of Strathearn, the neighbouring parish of Glendevon being also the scene of some of the most gruesome exhibitions of his mystic arts, his case, as well of those of the subsequent Fossoway witches, has been included in the present collection.

Amongst the charms used by John Brugh one

was the putting of an enchanted stone into the drink of his patient. This practice had been used in Scotland with the sanction of the Church previous to the Reformation, and appears to have been innocent in itself, but being accompanied by incantations it was thereby brought within the category of sorcery. We are told that Brugh gave a patient "ane enchanted stane of the bignes of a dow eg, advysing him to put the samyn in his drink."

In the prevalence of a murrain, Brugh, accompanied by an aged witch, directing a tub to be filled with water, put therein "tua enchantit stanes, thairefter causit the haill cattell to pass by, and in their by-passing sprinkled ilk ane of them with ane wisp dippit in it. Ane, however, being unable to walk, was by force drawin at the byre dure, and the said John with Nikclerith smelling the nois thereof, said it wald not lieve, caused ane hoill to be maid in maw greane quhilk was put quick in the hole, and made all the rest of the cattell thairefter to go over that place, and in this devellische manner be charmeing they were cured." In the case of Alexander Drummond a similar manner of cure was adopted, a cock being buried alive instead of a cow. He also persuaded a man

that his horses had been bewitched, and directed him to wash them with water of two enchanted stones. Another charm consisted in taking from the owner "three turnouris, rubbing thame vnder the lap of his cot, and putting thame outthrow and inthrow his belt head, and caussing thame to be cassin in a tubfull of cleane water, not suffering it to totche the ground, and of this a cow being braine wood for the tyme should drink."

Brugh turned his supernatural powers to good account. Like the master of the damsel mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, he made much gain thereby, both in goods, money, and provisions.

He, however, did not confine his attention to the cure of the afflicted, but he also exercised his weird arts for a malevolent purpose. We are told that he met Satan thrice "in the kirkyeard of Glendovan, at quhilkis tymes ther was taine up thrie severall dead corps, ane of thame being an servand man named John Chrystiesone; the uther corps, tane up at the Kirk of Mukhart, the flesch of quhilk corps was put above the byre and stable dure headis."[1]

[1] Apuleius refers to a similar practice amongst the Romans. "Nam ne mortuorum quidem sepulchra tuta dicunt, sed, et busti et rogis reliquiæ quædam et cadaverum præsegmina ad exitiabileis viventium fortunas petuntur. De Asino Aureo, lib. II.

John's performances could not continue hidden. They were too openly gone about for fee and reward to ensure the secrecy by which unholy arts were generally guarded. His lifting of the dead—a crime peculiarly obnoxious to the feelings of mankind, and particularly when done with the assistance of the arch enemy—must have roused popular feeling and fixed the public eye upon him as a reputed warlock. But testimony at length was not awanting to associate his arts either for beneficent or malevolent purposes with unholy compact with the devil himself. Catherine Mitchell, who had been tried for witchcraft and executed at Culross, affirmed that John Brugh had been with the devil at the Rumbling Bridge. It was stated "to be of verity at the tyme of hir criminall tryell at Culrose, immediatelie befoir her executione, the said John Brugh, being confronted with hir at the tyme—with the quhilk confessione and affirmatione the said Katharine Mitchell went to death." This practice of confronting supposed accomplices with condemned persons at their execution appears to have been part of the mode of procuring evidence. We are told that "after two women had suffered at Dunbar, on the trial of

a third whom they implicated, George Purves, Clerk of Dunbar, depones that he was present at their execution, and hard quhat was spoken be them, and, when they war confronted with the pannell, hard their declarations set down in their depositiones concerning hir, and that they being at the staik, and the fyre biggit about thame, they nevir variet fra thair former confession and affirmation, and that they baith deceissit penitent persons."

It was also alleged against John Brugh that he had got his knowledge "from a wedow woman named Neance Nikclerith, of three scoir years of age, quha was sister dochter to Nik Neveing, that notorious, infamous witche in Monzie, quha for hir sorcerie and witchecraft was burned fourscoir of yeir since or thereby." This Neance Nikclerith was, as above stated, John Brugh's assistant at the cure of the cattle by the immolation of one of their number.

John Brugh's days were numbered. He was tried at Edinburgh on November 24th, 1643, found guilty, and sentenced to be strangled and burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, which was carried into execution.

This case has been frequently referred to by

writers on the Criminal Law of Scotland. The trial is not included in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials. A pretty complete summary of it is, however, given in Dalzell's Darker Superstitions in Scotland. A full copy of the proceedings is now, like the previous trial of Alexander Drummond, for the first time given from the Books of Adjournal of the High Court of Justiciary.

Curia Justiciarie S.D.N. regis tenta in pretorio de Edinburgh, xxiiii. Nov., 1643, per Magros Alexander Colville et Jacobum Robertoun, Justiciarios Deputatos.

Intran eodem die.

Johnne Brughe, indweller and parochiner of Fossoquhay. Dilatit of dyverse poyntis of sorcerie conteinit in his dittay following.

Persewer.

Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Knyt Barronet, His Maj. Advocat for his hienes intreis.

My Lord Advocat producet the dittay. The Justice efter accusatione of the pannel of the perticuler crymes of sorcerie and witchcraft specifiet in his dittay, findis the samyn relevant conviction in the perticuler articles thereof to be put to the knowledge of ane assyse, qrupone His Maj. Advocat askit instrumentis.

Assise.

Robert Patersone, in Schanuell; Patrik Flokart of Corb; Mathow Baveridge in Nether Cairnboe; John Anderson, thair; John Hallie of Balruthrie; William Huttoun of Ballilisk Eister; John Patoun of Middle Ballilisk; James Huttoun of Waster Ballilisk; James Alexander of Waster Dounhill; William Gilcreist, in Eister Quhythill; Alexr. Chopman, in Common of

Dyning; Henrie Anderson, in the Rig; William Glass, portioner of Dalquish; Hendrie Daes, in the eist syd; James Greave of Leadlatione.

My Lord Advocat askit instrumentis of the sweiring of the assise, and for verification of the dittay producet the severall and perticuler depositiones for instructing of ilk article thereof. Quhilkis persones of assise being choisen, sworne, and admittit efter accusatione of the said John Brughe of the perticuler crymes and poyntis of dittay following, viz.:—Forasmeikle as be the devyne law of Almytie God mentionat in his sacreid word, all users and practizers of witchcraft, sorcerie, charmeing, suthesaying, are ordainit to be puneished to the daithe, and by dyverse Actis of Parliament, namelie, by the 73 Act of the Parliament halden be his Maj. dairest goodame Queane Marie of good memorie; It is statut and ordainit that na manner of persone of whatsumever estait or degrie thai be of, tak upon hand to use any manner of witchcraft, sorcerie, or necromancie, nor gif thame selfis furth to have any sic craft or knawledge thairby to abuise his Maj. good people's subjectis under the payne of dead: As in the said lawis and Actis of Parliament at lenthe is contenit. Nochwithstanding whereof it is of veritie that the said John Brughe shaiking aff all feir of the Omnipotent and Almytie God, reverence or regaird to his blessed word, and to the lawis and acts of parliament of this Kingdome groundit thereupon, and geiving himself haillielie over to the service of Sathan, the enemie of mane's salvatione, for thir threttie sax zeirs by gane practeized, used, and exerced the devellishe charmes of witchcraft and sorcerie upon dyverse persones, alsweill men as women, be onlaying of seikness, and deseass, and apptaking thereof upon ther personnes, and guids and geir, hantit and frequentit the ungodlie and damnable meittings of witches, and kepit cumpanie and trystis with the devill and thame at dyverse his appoyntit trystis; in sua far as the said John

hes been ane continuall ressaver of sarkis, coller boddis, beltis, and uther abuilziementis perteneing alsweill to men as women for cureing them of their seikness, urgeing thame to bring the samyn unto him, declaring himself thereby to have a mediate paktione with the devill, and, in sua doing, abuseing his Maj. leidges maist abominablie in makeing thame to beleive that he was able to give thame health of bodies, for the quhilk he tuik from thame dyverse great sowmes of money, victualls, butter, cheise, and uther commodeteis, impoverishing thame thereby. And be his causing thame likewayes for ther cure and healthes to weishe thame selfis in southe ryning wateris, involving therthrow the ignorant peaple consulters with him in a second giltines qlk was auqheable to baptisme in the name of Sathan the devill playing the ape in all God's warkis, and be sua doing to draw away the heartis of God's peaple fra ther blissed creator to be cured and helped be Sathan and his infernal instrumentis; and for this effect, according to his awin confessione, has given out himself to have knawledge of dyverse sorcis of seiknes, and deseiss learned be him frome a wedow woman namit Noance VcClerich, of thrie scoir zeirs of aidge, quha was sister dochter to Nik Neiving, that notorious and infamous witch in Monzie, quha for her sorcerie and witchcraft was burnt four scoir of zeir since or therby. And first, the said John, understanding that James Leveingstoun of Maw had all his beistis beseit wt grevous seikness and deseass sua that ane grit number of thame daylie deit, the said Jon Brughe, accumpaneit wt the said Noance VcClerich, come to the said James Levingstoune's hous and to his byre thereof, wherein his cattell was for the tyme, and there the said John, be his devillishe practeizes of sorcerie and witchcraft, causit fill a tub full of water and pat therein tua inchantit stanes, and therefter causit the haill cattell to pas by the tub full of water, and in ther by-passing sprinkled ilk ane of thame with ane wisp dipped in the said water. At qlk tyme ane

of the said goodis, not being able to gang, was be force drawin out at the byre dure, and the said Jon wt Nikclerich, smelling the nois thereof, said it wald not leive, caused ane holl to be made in the maw greane qlk was put quick in the holl, and maid all the rest of the cattell therefter to goe over that place, and in that devillish maner be charmeing of the saidis goodis they were cured of ther former deseiss, and caused him therefter to cleansait his haill byres, stables, and houss upone the said croft of land, and to the said James Levingstone's great chairges and expenss, caused him build new houss in uther places for saiftie alsweill of him selff as his goods, as at lenthe is contenit in the said Jon Brughe his depositione.

Item: The said John Brughe, be his charmeing, devilrie, and witchcraft practeized be him and be the said Nikclerica and Jon M'Ilvorie, his sone-in-law, thay being in his cumpanie practeized the lyk devillishe cure upone certane guidis perteneing to Robert Robertsone in Leadlatione, as he had practeizet upone the goods of the said James Levingstoun of Maw, for the qulk he gat tuelff ss. for his paynes, comittit be him a twentie zeirs since or therby.

Item: About the zeir of God 1633 or 1634 zeirs, the said John Brughe, haveing consavet ane deadlie heatret aganes Jon Gib of Couthe, for calling him ane witche, he be his devilrie and witchcraft, in revenge thereof, slew and caused frenit to dead tua of his ploughe horse and ane of his best oxen, together wt nyne peace of horse, follis, and staigis perteneing to him.

Item: The said John Brughe at Andermes in anno 1634, understanding that Archibald Huttoun, elder in Cleughe, had ane number of his oxen beset wt seiknes, qlk maid thame refuis to tak any meat, the said John Brughe, for cureing of thame of that deseass, come under nyt, and be his devilrie and witchcraft, and be resaveing of ellevin od schillings wt tua peckis of meill and thrie tailzies of beiff, and using of certain charmes, and repeitting of thir wordis at

three severall tymes, God put them in ther awin place; and also be applying of ane pynt of new lettin goe wirt to everie ox be his devilrie and witchcraft cured the said oxen.

Item: For cureing at threttie zeir since or therby to the Threipmure, wtin the parochin of Fossoquhay, and ther be the said John be his devilrie and witchcraft, and be applying of wort and walgrase soddin togidder, and be useing of certain charmes cured a staig perteneing to Thomas Gibsone, in Threipmure, confessit by the said John Brughe to be of veritie.

Item: At sevin zeirs since or therby the said John Brughe, haveing ressavit fra Agnes Murray, spous to Jon Hallie, in Balruddrie,[1] certain cornes upone trust, to have been delyverit bak agane at a certain day therefter; and becaus the said Agnes for not delyvering thereof at the appoyntit day come to the said John Brughe's hous and poyndit and brocht wt her a plaid of his, he, in revenge thereof, laid ane grevous deseis be his sorcerie and witchcraft upone ane kow perteneing to the said John Hallie, qlk kow gave nothing therefter furthe of her pappis but bluid and worsum insteid of mylk.

Item: The said John be his devilrie and witchcraft cured ane kow perteneing to John Rutherford, in Colsknow, the kow being braine wood for the tyme, be taking from hir thrie turnouris qlk efter his rubbing thame under the lap of his cot and putting thame outthrow and inthrow his belthead, and causeing thame to be cassin in a tub full of cleane water not suffering it to tutch the ground, and therefter to set it before the said kow and caus the kow to drink the samyn, efter the drinking thereof be the said John Brughe his sorcerie and witchcraft, the said kow was cured, for the qlk he ressaved nyne schillings.

Item: For abuising of Henrie Young, in Bankhead, be causing him to tak tua inchantit stanes and cast the same in water, and

[1] John Hally of Balruddrie was one of the jury.

therefter to weshe his horse and cattell therwt, affirmeing that they had been bewitched be some evil nycbors, for the qlk he ressaved fra the said Henrie Young fourtie schillings.

Item: For laying on of ane heavie seiknes be sorcerie and witchcraft upone Helene Young, spous to William Miller, and therefter taking the same aff the said Helene Young and laying it upone Jonet Clerk, her servand woman, qlk seiknes be his sorcerie and witchcraft was tane aff the said Jonet Clerk and cassin upone ane lanb.

Item: For cureing be sorcerie and witchcraft of ane grit number of ky and oxen perteneing to Hendrie Crombie, the spous of Christiane Glass, relict of umqle Thomas Hendersone, in the nether toun of Collennoquhy, for the qlk cure he ressavit 40 ss. fra the said Hendrie.

Item: For cureing be sorcerie, and witchcraft, and uther devillishe charmeing of ane young chyld about sevin or aught zeir auld, sone to Andrew Young, cotter in Tillierie under my Lord Burlie, being beseit wt ane grevous seiknes laid upone him be ane witch called Margaret Kinglassie, qlk bairne was cured be his sorcerie and witchcraft as said is.

Item: For cureing of Thomas Bannatyne, ane of the fewaris of Ballado, be the said John Brughe, his sorcerie and witchcraft, and taking fra him of ane of his sarkis, and causeing him to pas thrie severall nights to a south ryning water and to weshe himselff nytlie therin, and by delyvering to him of ane inchantit stane the bignes of ane dow eg, advyseing him to put the samyn in his drink, for the qlk the said Jon ressaved ane dollor.

Item: For cureing be sorcerie and witchcraft of Wm. Gilcreist, the spous of Margaret Miller, be taking of his sarkis and ane bonnet mutch, togidder wt sevin or ellevin schillings in od money, and be taking a pynt of south ryning water and wesheing the said Wm. Gilcreist's feit therwt, qua was curet according therto,

Item: For cureing be sorcerie and witchcraft of James Hutsone, in Auchlenskie, his sone, of a grevous seiknes, qlk made him senceles, dum, and speichles.

Item: For cureing be sorcerie and witchcraft and devillishe charmeing of Jon Currie, his said ky and oxin be cuming to the said Jon Currie's byre and casting ane cogful of water croce-ways upone ane of the oxin, being seik for the tyme, and therefter bureing the said ox, being dead, in a place where na man did repair, and be that devillishe meanes curet all the rest of his goods.

Item: For cureing of ane horse be sorcerie and witchcraft perteneing to Andro Dynning, in Iginser, and affirmeing to the said Andro that the seiknes was devyset for himselff.

Item: For onlaying be sorcerie and witchcraft upone Andro Dynmure, his haill bestial, ky, horss, and oxen of dyverse deseiss and grevous seiknes, wherby his horss ran wood and drouned themselffis in the dame.

Item: For geveing to Helene Gib of ane inchantit bonnok baiken of meill be sorcerie and witchcraft. At her ressaving wherof directit her to weit it in water and to cast it over the goodis wtin the byre, bot at her going to the water to weit the same, the bannok falling out of her hands, brak in tua pieces, qlk was tane up be tua dogis, and swallowit be thame, qrupone thay both went mad and died.

Item: Eleven zeir since or therby, John Kyd, maltman in Sant Johnestoun, being heavlie deseaset wt. continewall sweating, and forgaddering wt. the said John Brughe, directit him to send a sark of his wt. a boy, wherby he might be cured, causing put the said under the cock of ane barrell, and therefter put the same upone him, and ressavet 40 ss. for the said cure, albeit he was never the better thereof. But the said John Brughe being discontent wt. the money, being over little, the said John, be his sorcerie and witchcraft, caused the haill meanes and money perteneing to the said John Kyd, being

than wt. one thowsand pundis, togidder wt. his haill malt browin be him in drink to evanish and goe from him, so that the haill wort grew thik lyk sowings and stank lyk gutter glaur, and therby, and be his sorcerie and witchcraft, maid him altogidder poore.

Item: For being in cumpanie wt. Catharene Mitchell, ane commone and notorious witch, qa was convict and execut for witchcraft at Culros in May last, Margaret Kinard in Glendoven, Margaret Cowane, wt. the said John Brughe, being all convenit togedder, and haveing thrie severall meetings wt. the devill in the kirk yeard of Glendovan, at qlk tymes there was tane up thrie severall dead corps, ane of them being ane servand man named Jon Chrystiesone. The uther corps tane up at the Kirk of Mukhart, the flesch of the qlk corps was put above the byre and stable durehead of James and Robert Mechell, wtin the parochin of Mukhart, of purpois to destroy his cattell and guidis. And the thrid meitting being wt. the devill at the Rumbling Brigis about twa zeir since or therby, qlkis thrie severall meittings was affirmet be the said Catharene Mitchell to be of veritie, the tyme of her criminall tryall at Culrose, and immediately before her execution, the said John Brughe being confronted wt. her at that tyme, wt. the qlk confession and affirmatione, the said Catharene Mitchell went to death.

And last, the said Jon Brughe is indytit and accusit as ane commone sorcerer, and ane keiper of cumpanie wt. witches at all their wicked conventiones and meitings, the devill being in cumpanie wt. thame, geveing directiones and instructiones to the said Jon and the remanent witches alsweill, anent cureing of seiknes and deseass upone men, women, childring, and bestiall, as onlaying therof.

The foirnamet persones of assize removet therefter furthe of Court to ane secreit place be thame selffis qr. thay first electit and choyset Robert Patersone, in Schanuell, ane of ther number to be chancellor. Thairefter ressonet and voitit upone the said dittay and haill articles

therof, and being ryplie and at lenth advyset theranent, and wt. the haill depositiones and confessiones producet for verificatione of the said dittay and crymes therin contenit, reenterit agane in Court qr. they all in ane voce be the judiciall report and declaratione of the said Robert Patersone, chancellor, fand, pronuncet, and declairit the said Jon Brughe to be fyllit culpable and convict of the severall and perticuler crymes of sorcerie and witchcraft mentionet in his said dittay. Qrupone his Maj. advocat askit instrumentis.

The Justice continews the pronounceing of dome upon the former convictione to Wednesday next, the penult of November instant, and ordainit the pannell to be returned to waird, therin to remane qll the said day.

Curia Justiciariæ, S.D.N., regis tenta in pretorio de Edr., vigesimo nono Novembris, 1643, per Magros Alexandrum Colville de Blair et Jacobum Robertoun, Advocatum, Justiciarios Deputatos.

Dome pronuncet upon Jon Brughe, Warlok.

The samyn twentie nyne day of November, 1643, John Brughe, indweller in the parochin of Fossoquhy, warlok, being brocht furthe of waird be the bailleis of Edr., and enterit upon pannell to heir and see dome pronuncet and sentence pronuncet againes him as he that was dewlie and orderlie convict be ane assise of dyverse poyntis of sorcerie and witchcraft specifiet in his dittay, and convictione following thereupone in ane Justice Court heldin be the saidis Justice Deputtis upone the xxiiii. day of November instant, as the said convictione in the selff proporttis; the Justices, thairfoir, be the mouth of Patrick Barrie, dempster of Court, decernit and adjudget the said John Brughe to be tane to the Castell Hill of the burgh of Edr., and ther to be wirreit at ane stake qll he be dead, and therefter his bodie to be brunt in assis, as ane sorcerer and warlock convict of the crymes specifiet in his dittay, qlk was pronuncet for dome.

THE WITCH COVIN AT THE CROOK OF DEVON

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NOTWITHSTANDING witchcraft being made a capital crime both by the civil and canon law, the Old Church does not appear to have used much exertion either in tracing it out or in its prosecution. Strange to say, the influence of the Reformation—the general effect of which was to dissipate darkness and remove superstition—had, so far as the imaginary crime of witchcraft was concerned, a different tendency. When the priest remained careless, and, perhaps, incredulous, as to the obscure workings of the deeds of darkness, the presbyter of the New Church considered it his duty to expiscate and clear out even to the cleansing by fire rumoured delinquencies in the exercise of magical arts. In Scotland this feeling

was intensified in the Reformed Church by the Act of Queen Mary, 4th June, 1563, passed within three years after the downfall of the Roman establishment. This Act was no doubt inspired by the zeal of the Reformers to purge the country of diabolical influences. It seems, however, not to have been called much into requisition until after the return of James VI. from his matrimonial expedition to Denmark in 1591. The revelation of unholy practices against the Lord's anointed in the course of that memorable voyage, and after his return, threw the timorous King into a state of terror, and inspired him with the desire, as a sovereign prince, to exterminate the practisers of devilish arts from his dominions. Not only did he encourage prosecutions, but he wrote a book to prove the reality of the crime the credibility of which had been impugned by the catholic Weir. From 1591 to the death of King James, in 1625, thirty-five trials for witchcraft appear in the Justiciary records, and from that date down to 1640 only eight trials are recorded. From 1640 to 1660 there were thirty trials, although under the Commonwealth the judges generally discouraged such prosecutions,

After the Restoration the prosecutions for witchcraft greatly increased, and in the year immediately following 1661 not fewer than twenty persons were condemned to death for witchcraft before the High Court of Justiciary, and, in addition, instead of the cases being brought before the ordinary criminal courts, Circuit and Justiciary, commissions were also granted by the Privy Council to understanding gentlemen, empowering them to deal with the cases of reputed witchcraft occurring in the special localities with which they were connected. On one single day—7th November, 1661—not less than fourteen commissions were granted, and during the first eight months of the following year fifty additional commissions, each of them containing from one to ten names of reputed witches. The reports of these Commissions have not been preserved, but the recorded executions alone during 1662 are stated at not less than one hundred and fifty in number.

One of the most fruitful in the number of executions resulting from its investigations was that granted in favour of Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, His Majesty's Justice Depute for Scotland, under whose presidency five trials were held in the

parish of Fossoway, within the ancient Stewartry of Strathearn. From the proximity of the scenes of the alleged malefices and the place of the trial and execution to Auchterarder, it has been resolved to include the record of them in this historical collection.

These trials took place at the Crook of Devon. For a number of year suspicions of witchcraft were entertained, and that of practisers of unholy arts being resident in the Ochils and their southern boundaries. The case of John Brugh, who resided in Fossoway, and who exercised his arts in the adjoining parishes of Glendevon and Muckhart, was still fresh in the memory of the terrorised inhabitants. The persons brought to trial before the Justice Depute, Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, the same judge who presided at the trial of Alexander Drummond in 1629, were thirteen in number, consisting of one warlock, Robert Wilson, and twelve witches; and as thirteen formed a "covin," or company of witches—a "deil's dozen," it is supposed that the Commission had for its ultimate object the eradicating of the whole gang. Of the thirteen, only one of them, Agnes Pittendriech, escaped, which she owed to being pregnant at

the time of her trial, and being respited under an obligation to come up again for trial when required. As there is no record of any ulterior proceedings being taken against her, it is to be hoped that her respite resulted in their ultimate withdrawal. In the case of Margaret Hoggan no conviction or sentence against her is recorded, although the evidence against her was equally strong as against the other panels; but in the dittay against her she is described as a woman of threescore and nineteen years, and she may have been either spared on account of her old age, or she may have died in the excitement and terror in the course of her trial. She is referred to as deceased at the next diet of Court, which took place two months afterwards. Christian Grieve was put to her trial in July, 1662, and although the evidence against her appears to have been strong, the "hail assize in one voice declare that they will not convict her in no point of witchcraft, nor clenze her in no point," and yet within a period of three months the same jury, under the same presiding judge, and apparently without any additional evidence, convicted her, and she was strangled and burnt on the fifth day thereafter.

As appears from the Records, the Court sat at the Crook of Devon. It met on five different occasions—viz., 3rd and 23rd of April, 1662; 5th May, 1662; 21st July, 1662; and 8th October, 1662. On the first of these trials Agnes Murrie, Bessie Henderson, and Isabella Rutherford were condemned, and strangled and burnt on the following day. On the second occasion Robert Wilson, Bessie Neil, Margaret Lister, Janet Paton, and Agnes Brugh were found guilty and sentenced to be burnt on the following day, Agnes Pittendriech being respited on account of her pregnancy. At the third diet, Margaret Hoggan and Janet Paton were brought to trial. As before stated, there is no conviction against Margaret Hoggan; but Janet Paton was sentenced and strangled and burnt the same day. At the next diet two prisoners were brought to trial—Janet Brugh and Christian Grieve. The former was convicted and executed the same day, but Christian Grieve was acquitted. She was, however, re-tried and convicted by the same jury on the 8th October following, and burnt on the 13th. These sentences were carried into execution at a place called the Lamblairs, bewest the Cruick Miln.

As appears from the Records, the juries were formed of men of position, and in various instances the surnames which were then identified with the different properties and localities remain identified with them still. It will be also seen from the Records that the principal heritor of the parish—the Laird of Tullibole, assisted by his Bailie and the ministers of Fossoway, Kinross, Cleish, and Muckhart, were instrumental in getting up the prosecutions and extorting confessions and admissions from the accused. It may be noticed that two of the accused bore the same name as John Brugh, whose trial is narrated above—viz., Agnes Brugh, indweller in Gooselands, and Janet Brugh, spouse to James Morries, at the Crook of Devon. It is likely that these women were related to him.

We do not know from the Records of any such wholesale holocaust of witches in Scotland as took place at the Crook of Devon. The account is a dreadful one, and shows what an amount of credulity and terror had seized upon the inhabitants of this country parish, with many of whom the victims must have been related by ties of blood. While persons of consideration in Fossoway and the adjoining parishes evinced their ardour in the

prosecution, there was no difficulty in getting men to carry the executions into effect by strangling and burning the accused. No fewer than three are named in the trials as having acted as dempsters—viz., William Donaldson, Alexander Abernethy, and Thomas Gibson, and the executions were in all probability carried into effect by the same men who pronounced the doom.

The original record of the Court held at the Crook of Devon is not now believed to be in existence, but the following transcript is made from an authenticated copy of the proceedings, which belonged to the late Mr Henry Flockhart of Annacroich, who had procured the document from the Rev. Mr Harvey, minister at Muckhart. It was contributed with an interesting introduction by Robert Burns Begg, Esq., Sheriff Clerk of Kinross-shire, to the Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, and we are indebted to that gentleman for the privilege of its present reproduction.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST AGNES MURIE, INDWELLER IN KILDUFF; BESSIE HENDERSON, INDWELLER IN PITFAR; ISABEL RUTHERFORD, IN CROOK OF DEVON.

Ye all three are indytit and accusit forsamuckle as by the Divine law of the Almighty God set down in his sacred word, especially in

the 18 chap. of Deut. and 20 chap. of Levit. made against the users and practisers of witchcraft, sorcery, charming, soothsaying, and against the seekers of help or responses of them, and in the 22 chap. of Exodus, the 18 verse, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," threatening and denouncing to the committers of such devilish practices the punishment of death. According to the whilk law of Almighty God it is statute and ordained by divers Acts of the Parliament of this Kingdom, specially by the 73rd Act of the ninth Parliament of our Sovereign Lord's dearest great-grandmother, Queen Mary of good memory, it is statute that no manner of person or persons of whatsomever estate, degree, or condition they be of, presume nor take upon hand at any time thereafter to use or practise any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, necromancie, nor give themselves forth to have any craft or knowledge thereof thereby to abuse the people, neither that no person nor persons seek any help, response, or consultation at ony such abusers foresaid, or users of sorcerie, witchcraft, or necromancie, under the pain and punishment of death to be execute als well against the users and abusers as the seekers of the said help, response, or consultation, as in the said laws of Almighty God and Acts of Parliament at more length is contained. Notwithstanding whereof, ye, the said Agnes Murie (for evil and sinful ends), having received instructions and devilish informations from the devil, your covenanted master, how to practise and put in execution that devilish trade of witchcraft and sorcerie. Lykeas for clearing of your said sorcerie and witchcraft, that ye, being coming from the Crook Mill, about Martinmas last, 1661, Sathan did appear to you at the back of Tullibole yards, being on Monday, and said to you, "Will you be my servant, and I will give you als much silver as will buy you as many corn as will serve you before Lammas?" whilk you granted. Likewise he desired you to renounce and forsake your baptism, whilk ye did, and he gave to you a new name,

calling you Rossina, whilk ye yourself did freely confess; and likeways, at the same time, Sathan met you at the foot of the round knowe at the back of the yards of Tulliebole, and knew not whether he was hot or cold, whilk ye did also freely confess. Likeways, ye confessed that ye was at the meeting with Sathan at Gibson's Craig, at Andersmas last, and that there was with you, whom ye knew, Robert Wilson, in the Crook of Devon, and his spouse, Gilles Hutton, in Gartquheneane; Margaret Duncan, in Broome, in the parish of Dollar; and Agnes Allene, in the Crook of Devon, whilk ye freely confessed, and promised to confess and deleit some others. This ye did before Mr Alexander Ireland, minister, and Mr Robert Alexander, bailie; and thereafter being interrogated be the said minister what was the reason that hindered you to do the same presently, ye desired the said Mr Robert Alexander to lay his hand upon your breast to find how the lump troubled you, and to put his hand behind your back and he would find als much trouble you there. Likewise, ye confessit that Sathan desired you to go to the head of the moss betwixt the walkers and Hairlaw, and ye would get some women there that would go with you to Gibson's Craig. This he desired you to do on Wednesday next thereafter, whilk freely ye promised to do. Ye confessed that ye came to the foresaid place at the aforesaid time, and that Robert Wilson, Agnes Pittendreich, Agnes Alleine, in Cruick of Devon; Margaret Duncan, in Broome; Agnes Brugh, in Gooselands, were at the aforesaid place when ye came, and that the forenamed persons did go with you to Gibson's Craig, where ye saw three women with black heads, and Sathan with them; and that ye saw there the said Gilles Hutton with her coat about her head, and Margaret Duncan with a rachan grey plaid about her, and that ye came altogether to the Powmiln back again, leaving the devil at the head of Gibson's Craig, with the three women with the black heads,

and likewise, at your returning from the meeting you saw Robert Wilson sitting at Robert Whyte's fauld dyke, having a grey plaid about him, and that you had the same clothes that are now upon you. This ye all freely confessed in the presence of the minister and Mr Robert Alexander.

Likeways, upon the 28th day of March, 1662, ye confessed that Agnes Sharp, in Peatrig, and Janet Paton, spouse to James Sinclair, at the New Mill of Glendevon, were also guilty of sorcerie and witchcraft as ye yourself were, and that Janet Paton, termed "the Nun," was a great one, and that she might have been taken and burnt seven years since; and that Janet Paton, in Kilduff, was also guilty as ye yourself. This ye did confess before the minister, Mr Robert Alexander, and Mr James Forsyth, minister of Muckhart, and Mr William Hutson, schoolmaster.

And likeways, ye confesst that ye was at the meeting at Trufhills with the rest; and likeways, ye confesst that the first time the devil met with you he gave you the mark in your craig.

SWORN DITTAYS GIVEN IN BY JANET MILLAR, SPOUSE TO HENRY ANDERSON, IN CRAIGTON, AGAINST THE SAID AGNES MURIE.

Ye, the said Agnes Murie, are indited and accused, for coming to Henry Anderson, he being coming from his sawing of bear, and Janet Millar, his spouse, and the said Agnes being in company with them, ye, the said Agnes, said to the said Henry, "My bear land would have been better had ye laid a loak lime upon it as ye did the rest," and the said Henry said, "It needed none," and ye said, "What reak, it matters not, go in with me and get a snuff." Likeways ye said, "I would ye had sown my lint seed in an drownit holl in Kilduff." As also in the summer before, and divers times since, ye said that there was never one that angered you but you got your heart syth of them, and having gotten an snuff, the said Henry said he would go

and turn the oxen out of the corn. The said Janet Millar said to the said Henry, "Ye are tyred enough, else I will go turn them." Ye said, "Come again, Henry, and get another snuff, for devil an pickle more ye will get of it;" and upon the morn thereafter ye said to Isobel Wilson, servant to the said Henry, that the said Henry shuik the sheet well enough yesterday, but he could not do it this day; and immediately after he got the said snuff, coming to his own house, he was strucken speechless, and lost the power of ane of his sides, and thus he continued fourteen days speechless, and ane year thereafter or thereby, the said Henry and his spouse went to one Robert Small at Newtyll, hearing that he was ane man of skill, to seek remedy for his distress, and after the said Henry had told him the nature of his disease, he answered and said, "Ye liked snuff over well."

Ye, the said Agnes, are lykeways indited and accusit for coming to Robert Futt, to Adam Keltie's, in Gelvin, and speiring at the said Robert Futt where they watered their cattle in the storm in February last, 1662, and thereafter the said Adam Keltie had ane grey meir that took an shaking and an great sickness, and when the meir began to mend one of his master's best ewes died, and when the meir was well, ane of his plow oxen grew sick upon the last day of February, being Friday, and continued to Wednesday thereafter, and when he began to mend another ewe died.

THE CONFESSION AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID ISABEL RUTHERFORD.

Ye, the said Isabel Rutherford, are indyted and accused of the sin and crime of witchcraft; ye confessed ye had been also long ane witch as ye had been ane charmer, as also ye confesst that ye was affrayed first when ye saw Sathan; as also ye confessed that at his first appearing to you he desired you to be his servant, whilk ye willingly condescended unto. Likeways, ye confesst that ye

renounced your baptism, and immediately thereafter Sathan gave you an mark; and declared that Sathan was in likeness of a man with grey cloathes and ane blue bannet, having ane beard; as also ye confesst that when ye got the mark it was painful two or three days.

Likeways, ye confesst that the devil gave you ane name, calling you Viceroy, and that his name was Samuel.

Likeways, ye confesst that Sathan appeared to you before your own door, and desired you to keep the meeting at Gibson's Craig, whilk ye promised to do. This he told you two or three weeks before the meeting, and you confesst when ye came to the appointed place and meeting, the devil said to you, "What, now are ye come," he appearing to you in the likeness of a man with ane blue bonnet and grey clothes.

Likeways, ye confesst that ye was at ane meeting at Turfhills, where Sathan took you by the hand and said, "Welcome Isabel," and said that his hand was cold, and in the glomeing before the said meeting the devil appeared to you at the loning betwixt John Livingstone's and John Marshall's and desired you to be present at the said meeting, whilk ye promised to do. This ye confesst in presence of Mr Alexander Ireland, minister, and Mr James Forsyth, minister at Muckhart; John Murray, at Livieland; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie, Tullybole; Robert Livingstone of Cruick Miln; and William Hutson, schoolmaster.

Likeways, ye did confess that Sathan was with you at the east side of John Livingstone's yard. This ye did freely confess in presence of Mr Robert Alexander, bailie; William Dempster, in Bankhead; Robert Mailer, in the Crook of Devon; and William Hutson, schoolmaster.

SWORN DITTAYS GIVEN IN BY JANET HUTTON, IN CROOK OF DEVON, AGAINST THE SAID ISABEL RUTHERFORD.

Ye, the said Isabel Rutherford, are indyted and accusit of the

sin and crime of witchcraft. That ten years since or thereby, James Wilson, husband to the said Janet Hutton, being diseased, and Janet Hutton, his spouse, being from home in the Common of Fossoway; and the said James Wilson being lying upon ane knowe-head above the stack, ye, the said Isabel Rutherford, came to him and said, "What now, James, I think that ye are not well, and ye are not well"; and ye desired him to go into the house, whilk he did, and losit his coat and gropit his breast and back, and said he was melt grown, and spake some words he understood not, and he was aye the worse thereafter, and so far as ye touched was aye the worse thereafter, and was all drawn togedder as it were with sea-cords; and the morn thereafter the aforesaid James Wilson and his said spouse being lying in their bed togedder, the said James said to Janet, his spouse, he wished he had been quartered quick when she went from home yesterday, and she said, "Why, I did nothing, but went to the Common." And he said there came a common thief to him whilk was the said Isabel Rutherford, and shew all things aforesaid, aud said he would take his meir and ride to the Cruick and seek his health from the said Isabel Rutherford, altho' they should rife him at horse's tails, and seek it for God's sake, and the said Janet bade him seek it from God, and she said he should never see her if he did so; and in the moneth of October the said Janet said, "I will go to her in fair ways to see gif she will do him ony good, and she would pay her for it"; and she met her accordingly in the kirkyard at Tullybole, and the said Isabel asked how the said James did, and the said Janet answered and said that he had ane sore summer, and the said Isobel promised to come to him the morn thereafter, whilk she did, and gropit the same James, his haill boddie and leggs, and said he was all oergane in that disease; and the said Isabel went home, and said she would come again the morn at even, whilk she did, and how soon she came in his sight

he bade her swithe away, God gif he had never seen her, and the said Janet gave her an loak meal and she went away, and thereafter the said James never stirred in his bed unlifted, but became clean distracted, so that he would never thereafter look to the said Janet, his said spouse, nor suffer her to make his bed, nor come near him thereafter, whereas before there was never an evil word between them for the space of saxteen years.

And likeways, twelve years since, or thereby, ye, the said Isabel Rutherford, came and charmed ane young man named Alexander Kid in Muirhauch for melt growing, as also four years since or thereby, James Kid of Muirhauch, being diseased with the trembling feavers the space of twenty-two weeks, ye, the said Isabel, came to him and said, "Ye will never be well till ye be charmed, for ye are melt-grown as your brother was;" and he answered, "Will ye do it presently or not?" and ye said, "Not until the morn, where ye shall meet me at the head of the Black Craig before the sun rising;" and the said James went there, and it was more nor an hour and a half after the sun rising before ye, the said Isabel, came there, being in the month of May, and when ye came ye desired him to loose his breast, whilk he did, and ye stracked his side three several times with your luif, and immediately thereafter within the yeard with some mumbling words that he wist not what, and the said James declared that he was not the better, nor was never well since syne.

THE CONFESSION AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID BESSIE HENDERSON.

Ye, the said Bessie Henderson, are indited and accused of the sin and crime of witchcraft. Ye confessed ye had been forty years in the devil's service, since the time ye milked the old Bailie of Kinross his kye before the calfing.

Likeways, ye confessed that half ane year since ye was at a meeting in an fauld with Isabel Gibson and many mae, and that ye was

taken out of your bed to that meeting in an flight, at whilk meeting the devil appeared to you, and promised to you that you should want nothing, and ye being asked by the minister gif ye would confess ye answered not.

Likeways, ye confessed that the devil keeped up your heart fra confessing. This ye confesst in presence of the Laird of Tullybole, Mr Alexander Ireland, minister; Mr R. Alexander, bailie; Robert Livingstone and Henry Mercer, elders.

And likeways, ye, the said Bessie Henderson, in presence of the minister, Robert Livingstone of Cruik Miln, John Livingstone of Rantrieknow, elders; John White, in Cruik of Devon; James Rutherford, in Earnyside; and Andrew Kirk, in Carnbo, freely confessed that the devil appeared to you in the likeness of ane bonnie young lad at Trufhills, aboon Kinross, with ane blue bonnet, and asked you gif you would be his servant, promising that ye should want nothing, whilk ye freely and instantly accepted and granted thereto.

Likeways, he desired you to renounce and forsake your baptism, whilk ye freely did, as also confessed that the devil gave you a new name, and like a man's name immediately after the renunciation of your baptism, but ye had forgotten what it was.

Likeways, ye freely confessed that Agnes Murie and Isabel Rutherford were with you in the foresaid place.

Likeways, after the minister had prayed for you, ye, desiring the same, ye confessed that Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon; Janet Brugh, there; Janet Hird and Isabel Condie, in Meikle town of Aldie; Christian Crieff and Margaret Young, in Quhorlawhill; Margaret Huggon and Bessie Neil, in Gelvan; Janet Paton and Margaret Litster, in Kilduff; Margaret M'Nish, in Tilyochie, that all these forenamed persons were alse guilty of witchcraft, as ye yourself is, as ye desired the foresaid persons to be put to trial.

Likeways, in presence of the Laird of Tullybole, Mr Geo. Colden, minister of Kinross; Mr Alex. Ireland, minister at Fossaquhy; James Dempster, bailie of Kinross; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie of Tullybole; James Alexander of Downhill; ye, the said Bessie, confessed and declared as of before that ye renounced your baptism to Sathan, and immediately thereafter got a new name, whilk ye had forgotten, and ye being posit what ground ye had to delate the foresaid persons, ye answered, because they were alse guiity as ye; and ye being interrogate gif ye saw the foresaid persons at ony of your meetings answered not, save the above-mentioned two that are in prison; and ye, being interrogate gif the minister spake to you of any of the foresaid persons, ye answered not, but that ye did the same without ony compulsion.

Likewise, ye confessed and declared that Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon, was with you at ane meeting when they trampit down Thos. White's rie, in the beginning of harvest, 1661, and that she had broad soals and trampit down more nor any of the rest.

Likeways, ye confessed that ye was at a meeting with Sathan at the . . .

Likeways, thereafter, ye confessed and declared, in presence of the minister, Mr Robert Alexander, bailie; Robert Livingstone, and William Hutson, schoolmaster, that all the forenamed persons were with you at the meeting, when ye trampit down Thos. White's rie, and said ye heard all their voices, but did not see them in regard of weakness of your sight, saying that ye saw not well in the night this mony a year.

Likeways, ye confessed that the devil had met with you, and declared that Sathan's name upon whom ye was ordained to call was Charles, and the name he gave to you was Bessie Iswall, and the time he gave it to you was in the night in your bed, but did not remember what night it was. This ye confessed in the

presence of Mr Robert Alexander, baillie; John Livingstone of Rantrieknow; William Christie, Pitfar; James Hird, and James Donaldson in Lambhill.

Doom.

An Court of Justiciary holden at the Crook of Devon, the 3rd day of April, the year of God, sixteen hundred and sixty-two years, be Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, His Majestie's Justice Depute General over Scotland.

Nomina Assize.

Robert Angus, in Bogside; Patrick Livingstone, at the Kirk of Cleish; John Hutton, in Borland; James Livingstone; Robert Livingstone; George Barclay; William Pearson of Morlat; Robert Brown, in Meadowhead; David Carmichael, in Linbanks; Robert Hutton, in Wester Ballilisk; Andrew Paton; James Alexander, in Balriddrie; Edmond Mercer, there; Henry Mercer, in Aldie; James Thomson, portioner of Maw.

It is found and declared be the haill assize, all in ane voice, that the forenamed Agnes Murie is guilty and convict in six several points of witchcraft and sorcerie, and that according to her own free confession, as also the said Bessie Henderson is guilty and convict in seven points of sorcerie and witchcraft, and that according to her own free confession, in manner above.

In like manner, the above Isabel Rutherford is guilty and convict in six several points of witchcraft and sorcerie according to her own confession and probation, and all the three convict as common sorcerers and notorious witches by the mouth of George Barclay as chancellor of the said assize.

Sic subscribitur, GEORGE BARCLAY.

For the whilk causes the above named Justice General Depute gives sentence, and ordains that the said Agnes Murie, Bessie Henderson, and Isobel Rutherford, sall be all three taken away to

the place called the Lamlaires, bewest the Cruick Miln, the place of their execution, to-morrow, being the fourth day of this instant month of April, betwixt one and two in the afternoon, and there to be stranglit to the death by the hand of the hangman, and thereafter their bodies to be burnt to ashes for their trespass, and ordains all their moveable goods and gear to be escheit and inbrought to his Majesty's use for the causes foresaids. Whereupon William Donaldson, dempster, gave doom.

Sic subscribitur, J. ALEXANDER.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ROBERT WILSON, INDWELLER IN CRUIK OF DEVON; BESSIE NEIL, INDWELLER IN GELVIN; MARGARET LITSTER, INDWELLER IN KILDUFF; JANET PATON, INDWELLER IN CRUIK OF DEVON; AGNES BRUGH, INDWELLER IN GOOSELANDS.

Ye all five are indyted and accused for saemeikle as be devine law of the Almighty God, set down in his sacred word, especially in the 18 chap. of Deut. and 20 chap. of Lev., made against the users and practisers of witchcraft, sorcerie, charming, soothsaying, and against the seekers of help and responses of them, and in the 22nd chap. of Exodus, at the 18 verse, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," threating and denouncing to the committers of such devilish practices the punishment of death, according to whilk law of Almighty God, it is statute and ordained by divers Acts of Parliament of this kingdom, especially by the 73rd Act of the 9th Parliament of our Sovereign Lord's dearest great-grandmother, Queen Mary of good memory, it is stated that no manner of person or persons of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition they be of, presume nor take upon hand at ony time hereafter to use or practise ony manner of witchcraft, sorcerie, or necromancie, nor give themselves forth to have ony such craft or knowledge thereof, thereby to abuse

the people; neither that ony person or persons seek ony help, response, or consultation at ony sic abusers foresaid, or users of sorcerie, witchcraft, or necromancie, under the pain and punishment of death, to be execute alse well against the users and abusers as the seekers of the said help, responses, or consultation, as in the said laws of Almighty God and Acts of Parliament at length is contained. Notwithstanding whereof, ye, the said Robert Wilson, for evil and sinful ends, having received instruction and devilish information from the devil, your covenanted master, how to practise and put in execution that devilish trade of witchcraft and sorcerie. Lykeas for clearing of your said sorcerie and witchcraft ye confessed that when ye was brought from the East Blair, twenty year since or thereby, be Robert Livingstone of Cruik Miln; umquhill John Livingstone, his brother; umquhill Andrew Dowie, in Cruik of Devon; and Thomas Dowie, in . . . ; and others mae, that ye cried there three several times to the devil to come, and that the devil appeared to you and gave you ane sair stroke on the right shoulder, but nane of the foresaid men saw him.

Likeways, that ye confessed ye had an meeting with the devil at the Stanriegate, bewest the Cruik of Devon, where the devil desired you to be his servant and renounce your baptism, whilk ye refused to do at that time; and that the devil was riding on ane horse with fulyairt cloathes and an Spanish cape, and that there was with you at that meeting, Bessie Neil, in Gelvin; Marget Hoggan, there, Christian Grieve spouse to . . . ; Andrew Beveridge, in Quhorlawhill; Marget Young, spouse to Wm. Beveridge, there; Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon; Janet Brugh, spouse to James Moreis, there; Janet Paton, in Kilduff; Marget Litster, spouse to Finlay Ma, there; Christian Young, spouse to James Bennet, there; Agnes Beveridge, in Broughty; Marget Beveridge, there; her sister, Agnes Drysdale, spouse to John Blackwood of Coldrain,

riding on an brown horse and an old black plaid about her. This ye said to be on Wednesday about Yule last, two hours before day, and that the devil appointed them to meet at the Bents of Balruddrie on Friday thereafter.

Likeways, ye confessed that they obeyed him, where ye and all the forenamed persons were present, and Sathan with them; and Sathan appointed them another meeting at Gibson's Craig within a fortnight thereafter, where the devil likeways met you with the haill forenamed persons (except the said Christian Young was not present), at whilk two meetings Gules Hutton, spouse to Peter Coventrie, in Garthwaynean, was present, having a black gown, and said that Margaret Keltie, spouse to John Brand, in Wester Cleish, and . . . Brand, her daughter, married in Culrosse, were present at Gibson's Craig with blackheads and sleaves, where the devil again desired you to be his servant and renounce and forsake your baptism, and gave you a name, calling you . . . and Sathan's name, Lucifer, and that he caused you lay your hand to the crown of your head and sole of your foot, and deliver you to his service (whilk ye lykeways did).

Lykeways, ye said that Sathan promised you both silver and gold, whilk ye said ye never got; and also said that Sathan gave you both meat and drink sundry times, but it did you never good. And sin syne ye was Sathan's servant, that ye was never able to buy yourself a pair of shoone, and ye said that ye came home over Devon, the water being very great. This ye confessed and declared in presence of the Laird of Tullybole, Mr Alexander Ireland, minister of Fossquhay and Tullybole; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie, in Tullybole; Adam Keltie, portioner, Gelvin; and James Alexander, Wester Downhill, upon the 14th April, 1662.

Lykeways, the same day, in presence of the minister; William Livingstone of Cruik Miln; James Dick, at Powmill; James Paton,

younger, in Aldie; . . . at Powmill; Andrew Dowie, in Cruik of Devon; Robert Mailer, there; Adam Keltie, portioner, of Gelvin, ye, the said Robert, declared that Elizabeth Dempster, spouse to James Beveridge, in Thornton, was present at the hail three meetings above written, with ane . . . plaid, ane blue coat aboon, and white clothes under, and an blue apron with an kurch on her head, and ye said that Marrion Fyfe, in the Cult Miln, in the parish of Saline, was at the meeting at Gibson's Craig.

Lykeways, ye, the said Robert, declared that ye was not well of an pain in the side of melt growing, and ye went to Isobel Black, spouse of umquhill Henry Miller, and desired her to charm you of the same, whilk she did, but you was not the better, and she desired you to go to the deceased Isabel Rutherford, who did charm you, and ye found yourself the better.

THE CONFESSION AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID BESSIE NEIL.

Ye, the said Bessie Neil, are indyted and accused of the sin and crime of witchcraft; ye confessed ye was in the devil's service two years since, and was at ane meeting at Turfhills, and with you the deceased Bessie Henderson, Agnes Murie, Margaret Litster, in Kilduff, and Janet Paton there, where Sathan appeared to you with dun-coloured clothes, and desired you to be his servant, and to renounce and forsake your baptism, whilk ye did; and caused you to put your hand to the crown of your bead and sole of your foot, and deliver you to his service, which ye likeways did; and that he met with you and called your name Sarah, and Sathan's name Simon; as also said that there was at the said meeting Margaret Huggon, in Gelvin; Christian Grieve and Marget Young, in Quorlawhill; Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon; and Janet Brugh, there; Robert Wilson, there, and his wife.

Likeways, ye confessed that half an year since, or thereby, ye was at an meeting at Gibson's Craig with Sathan, and with you Janet

Paton, in Kilduff; Marget Litster, there; Marget Huggon and Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon; Janet Brugh, there; Agnes Brugh, in Gooselands; Robert Wilson and his wife; Janet Hood, in Aldie; Isabel . . . there; Gules Hutton, in Garthwhenean, with ane white coat about her head, and did all dance with Sathan.

Likeways, ye confessed that four years since, in the month of January, that ye yourself, Janet Paton, in Kilduff; and Robert Wilson, in Cruik of Devon, came to Adam Keltie, his house in Gelvin, where the said Adam's wife was lying in her bed with her child with her, and ye, the said Bessie, laid your hand upon the child's hand; the said Robert Wilson laid his hand upon the child's throat, and the said Janet Paton laid her hand upon the child's heart and killed the child amongst you. This ye confessed and declared the 14th April instant, in presence of the Laird of Tullybole; the minister; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie of Tullybole; Adam Keltie, portioner, Gelvin; and James Alexander of Wester Downhill.

THE CONFESSIONS AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID MARGARET LITSTER.

Ye, the said Margaret Litster, are indyted and accused of the sin and crime of witchcraft. Ye confessed in presence of the minister, the Laird of Tullyboal; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie of Tullyboal; Adam Keltie, portioner of Gelvin; and James Alexander of Wester Downhill, that ye was a witch, a charmer, and a libber.

Lykeways, ye confessed that the first time ye saw Sathan was in . . . last, 1661, at Gibson's Craig, and Sathan asked you gif ye would be his servant, whilk ye did; and to renounce your baptism, whilk ye also confessed ye did; and took ye be the hand and stayed the space of half-an-hour—Sathan having grey clothes, and his hand cold; and declared that ye came home again with umquhill Bessie Henderson, and the rest now in prison, and Agnes and Marget Beveridge, in Braughtie; Janet Paton, in Kilduff; and

Bessie Neil, and that Janet Paton, in Cruik; Agnes Pittendriech, and umquhill Isabel Rutherford's wit were more thought of than other ten, and declared that Janet Brugh, in Cruik of Devon, and Agnes Brugh in Gooselands, was there, and was ordained by umquhill Agnes Murie, and Janet Paton, at the Bent of Balruddrie; and that Agnes Pittendreich came down the Craig like kairts, and likeways declared that Agnes Sharp, in Peatrighead; Elizabeth Dempster, and Gules Hutton, in Gartwhynean, were there.

Likeways, ye confessed to Thomas Anderson, in Gelvin, remember when ye delvit your kail yard that Bessie Neil got two spaidful of the kail yard, and gif she had gotten the third.

More, ye said to John Beveridge, "Go west to Bessie Neil and speir at her what she did to your wife and your bairn, for she was baith their deads."

Likeways, she said to John White that Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon, thought to have gotten opportunity of his body, but could not prevail in that, but desired Robert Wilson and Bessie Neil to come and get the fisson of his ale, and Robert Wilson searched the house first, but neither he nor Bessie Neil could get entries, but when they were by the chamber door she cried on them back again, and that she thought she was more familiar with the taft than the rest, and thought to have gotten entries, she came back to the window and looked from the one side thereof to the other, but could not prevail; as also ye said to John White, "Speir at Janet Paton what she did to your uncle," whilk ye confessed all to be of veritie before the witnesses above written.

Sworn Dittays given in be Janet Graham, Spouse to John Marshall, in Cruik of Devon, against the said Margaret Litster.

In a Court holden at Cruik of Devon on the 21st of April, 1662 years, be William Halliday of Tullyboal, and Mr Robert Alexander,

his bailie, Janet Graham, spouse to John Marshall, being solemnly sworn, declared upon her great oath that six years since or thereby, her son, James Robertson, being diseased of the falling sickness, occasionally met with Helen Livingstone, daughter to Thomas Livingstone, at Cruik Miln, who desired her to go to Margaret Litster, who had declared to her that the said Margaret had cured William Anderson, in Kirkaldie, of the same disease, and, according to the said Helen, her desire, she went to the said Margaret and asked whether or not she could cure her sick son of the said disease, who answered, she could both cure beast and bodie, and said her said son did gif her ane stand of cloathes, whilk the said Marget, her husband, did wear thereafter, and the said Janet gave her meal and groats at several times, and thereafter the lad was in health two years and more, and during the whilk space they had ane cow that never wanted the said disease; and two years thereafter the said James, being at John Mailer's brydale, in Cruik of Devon, at Andrew Hutton's house, the said Margaret Litster desired him to go home, and he said to her, "What have ye to do with me? I will not go while I be ready," and upon the morn thereafter he took the said disease far worse than ever he had before, and continues so as yet; and thereafter the said Janet went to the said Margaret Litster's house upon the morrow thereafter and asked for the said Marget, and they said to her that she was at the place, but the truth is she found her sitting at William Livingstone's fireside at Crook Miln, and desired not to speak to her there, but called her forth and told her that the lad was not well enough, and shortly thereafter, the lad continuing in the said disease, the said Janet went to her house beside Thomas White's and said to her, "God forgive you, and I might have gone to ane doctor who might have cured my bairn,' and the said Margaret answered that all the doctors upon the earth would not cure him after the things she had given him.

The same day, likeways in presence of the said Court, James Paton, elder, being solemnly sworn, declared upon his great oath that two years since, or thereby, the said Margaret Litster, being seeking her meat and selling leiks, came to James Paton, younger, his house in Aldie, his wife and sister being in the house for the time, and he having an man child of 30 weeks of age, free of ony disease for aught they knew, the said James, his wife went ben to fetch her some meat; in the meantime, the said Margaret Litster put a bunch of leiks in the said bairn's hand, and streaked down his head twice or thrice, and said, "This is not for your father's sake, nor your mother's sake, but for your own sake," and the morn before the sun rose the bairn took the falling sickness, whilk continued with him the space of five quarters of an year or thereby.

Quhilk day the above written Agnes Pittendreich being convened before Mr Alexander Colville, General Justice Depute, and he enquiring of her whether she was with child or not, she declared she knew not, therefore the said Justice Depute, calling Janet Wallace, . . . Wallace, and Janet Graham, famous and honest women, to go apart with her, and, being solemnly sworn, declared that there was more in the said Agnes' womb nor was ordinarily in any woman's womb that was not with child, therefore, the said Justice Depute ordains her to be put to libertie for the present, and that she should answer whenever she was called upon within fifteen days under the pain of death.

Lykeas the said Agnes obliged herself to do, and obtemper the same under the pain of accepting the crime of witchcraft upon her, and that whensoever the Justice or any of his name shall desire the same.

Sic Subscribitur. De mandato dictæ Agnetis Pittendreich, ego Jacobus Alexander, notarius publicus, specialiter requisitus scribere nesciens ut asseruit subscribo.

J. ALEXANDER, N.P.

THE CONFESSIONS AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID JANET PATON.

Ye, the said Janet Paton, are indyted and accused of the sin and crime of witchcraft. Ye confessed that ye was at ane meeting at Turfhills, where Sathan asked you gif ye would be his servant, whilk ye did, and Sathan took you be the hand, and ye said that his hand was cold, and he desired you to renounce your baptism, whilk ye also did; as also said that Sathan gave you a name, calling you Annas, and Sathan's name, Thomas Roy, and said there was there, at the said meeting, Robert Wilson and his wife, Janet Brugh, in Cruik of Devon; Agnes Brugh, in Gooselands; Christian Grieve, and Margaret Young in Quhorlawhill; Marget Hutton, in Gelvin; Janet Paton, in Kilduff; Agnes Drysdale, in Coldrain; and Gules Huttin, in Gartwhynean.

Likeways, ye confessed that ye was at a meeting at the Bents of Balruddrie, and saw there with the rest, Elizabeth Dempster, in Thornton; and Agnes Sharp, in Peatrighead. This ye confessed in presence of the minister, Mr Robert Alexander, bailie in Tullyboal; James Alexander and Wm. Livingstone of Cruikmiln.

SWORN DITTAYS GIVEN IN BE THOMAS WHITE AGAINST THE SAID JANET PATON.

In an Court holden at the Cruik of Devon . . . April, 1662, Thomas White, in Cruik of Devon, being solemnly sworn, declared upon his great oath that sixteen years since or thereby, Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon, came to his house and desired some draffe to her fowls frae his mother; his mother said she had none of her awn, and said she would deal none of others, and thereafter, she presently going away, his ale presently being in the fatt, it would not work nor bear the bells, and said that honest men being presently at that time drinking of the ale, being good, it presently went back and did no good thereafter, while nine bolls and a half was brewn

and thereafter James Thomson, in Maw, desired him to change his brewlooms to the other side of the house, and said he and his father lost threttie two hundred merks worth of cattle while he changed his byre, and thereafter said that he had three firlots of the same malt did him more good nor all the rest.

The same day, in the same Court, Andrew Hutson, son of Andrew Hutson, Cruik of Devon, being solemnly sworn, declared upon his great oath that three years since he, being leading his father's peats, the said Andrew's horse cart went throo an heap of the said Janet Paton's muck; the said Janet said she should gar him alse good, and he said, "I defy you, witch-thief," and the horse brought home that load, but was never able to draw another, but dwined and died; and, lykeways, declared that Robert Wilson and Marget Litster said that death was ordained for himself and not for the horse.

The same day, in the said Court, Janet Mailer, spouse to Andrew Hutson, in Cruik of Devon, being solemnly sworn, declared upon her great oath that sixteen years since or thereby, Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon, having an lippy of lintseed sawn in the deceased Lawrence Keltie, his yard, in the Cruik of Devon, two travellers having laid down their loads to bait themselves and their horses, two of the said horses went in and weltered on the said lint, the said Janet Paton and the said Andrew Hutson scolded and flett, and immediately thereafter the said Janet Mailer's ale went clean back that no man nor woman was able to drink the same the space of half an year thereafter; notwithstanding, the said Janet Mailer got firlot about of malt with her neighbours, who had alse good thereof as men needed to drink. This they all declared in presence of the said Court, before the Laird of Tullyboal; John Halliday his son; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie, of Tullyboal; Wm. Livingstone of Cruik Miln; John Kid, in Cruik of Devon; James Paton, in Aldie; Adam Keltie, portioner in Gelvin,

THE CONFESSIONS AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID AGNES BRUGH.

Ye, the said Agnes Brugh, are indyted and accused of the sin of witchcraft. Ye confessed that the first time the devil appeared to you was at the dykes of the muir, called the Lambrithes, two years since or thereby, in the twilight in the evening, like unto a half long fellow with an dusti-coloured coat with a . . . and desired you to show him the gait thro' the muir, and said he would give you a braw gown, and ye said that he said, "I will gar ye do it whether ye will or not," and then ye promised to serve him.

Likeways, ye confessed that ye renounced and forsook your baptism and delivered yourself to Sathan; more, ye confessed that Sathan gave you a new name, and shew you his name, but ye said ye had forgot both. This ye confessed the fourth, eleventh, and fifteenth day of April, in presence of the minister, Mr William . . . of Middleton; Mr Robert Alexander, and John Hutton of Ballilisk.

Doom.

An Court of Justiciary holden at the Cruik of Devon by Mr Alexander Colville, His Majestei's Justice Depute General, the 23rd of April, sixteen hundred and sixty-two years; *curia legittime affirmata.*

Nomina Assize.

Robert Angus, in Bogside; Patrick Livingstone, at Cleish; George Barclay, in Mains of Cleish; John Hutton, in Borland; Andrew Barclay; William Pearson of Morlat; Robert Brown, in Meadowhead; James Alexander of Balruddrie; Edmund Mercer, there; Lawrence Dempster, in . . . James Henderson, in . . . Robert . . . David . . . Patrick Hutton, in West Blair,

It is found and declared by the haill assize, all in one voice, that the forenamed Robert Wilson is guilty and convict in three several points of witchcraft and sorcerie according to his own free confession, as also the said Bessie Neil is guilty and convict in five several points of sorcerie and witchcraft, and that according to her own free confession in manner.

And, in like manner, the above-named Margaret Litster is convict in three several points of sorcerie and witchcraft, according to her own free confession and probation.

And also the above specified Janet Paton is guilty and convict in . . . several points of sorcerie and witchcraft, according to her free confession and probation.

As also the said Agnes Brugh is guilty and convict in . . . several points of sorcerie and witchcraft, according to her own confession and probation.

And all the five are convict by brute and fame as common sorcerers and notorious witches by the mouth of Edmund Mercer, as Chancellor of the said assize.

Sic Subscribitur, EDMUND MERCER.

For the whilk causes the above-named Justice General Depute gives sentence, and ordains that the said Robert Wilson, Bessie Neil, Marget Litster, Janet Paton, and Agnes Brugh shall all five be taken away to that place called Lamblairs, bewest the Cruik Miln, the place of their execution, to-morrow, being the twenty-fourth day of this instant month of April, betwixt two and three hours in the afternoon, and there to be strangled to the death by the hand of the common hangman, and thereafter their bodies to be burnt to ashes for their trespasses; and ordains all their moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought to his Majesty's use for the causes foresaid, whereupon William Donaldson gave doom, being doomster.

Sic Subscribitur, J. ALEXANDER, Clk.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MARGARET HOGGAN, IN GELVINE, RELICT OF ROBERT HENDERSON; AND JANET PATON, INDWELLER IN KILDUFF, RELICT OF UMQUHILL DAVID KIRK.

Ye both are indyted and accused, for suamuckle as by divine law of the Almighty God, set down in his sacred word, especially in the 18 chap. of Deut. and 20 chap. of Lev., made against the users and practisers of witchcraft, sorcerie, charming, and soothsaying, against the seekers of help or responses of them, and in 22 chap. of Exodus at the 18 verse—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," threatening and denouncing to the committers of such devilish practices the punishment of death. According to the whilk law of Almighty God, it is statute and ordained by divers Acts of Parliament of this kingdom, especially by the 73 Act of the 9th Parliament of our sovereign Lord's dearest great-grandmother, Queen Marie, of gude memory, it is statute that no person nor persons of whatsomever state, degree, or condition they be of, presume or take upon hand at any time thereafter, to use or practise any manner of witchcraft, sorcerie, or necromancie, under the pain and punishment of death, to be execute alse well against the users and abusers as the seekers of the said help, responses, or consultation, as in said laws of Almighty God and Acts of Parliament at more length is contained. Notwithstanding whereof, ye, the said Marget Hoggan, of the age of three score nineteen years, for evil and sinful ends, having received instructions and devilish informations from the devil, your covenanted master, how to put to practice and put in execution that devilish trade of witchcraft and sorcerie. Likeas for clearing of your said sorcerie and witchcraft, ye freely confessed that three years since bygane in harvest was the first time Sathan appeared to you in the . . . coming out of Carnbo, when he desired you to be his servant, whilk ye confessed to do, and put ane of your hands to the

crown of your head and the other to the sole of your foot, and delivered all to Sathan's service.

Likeways, ye confessed that Sathan desired you to renounce and forsake your baptism, whilk ye likeways did, and immediately after your renunciation of your baptism, he gave you a new name, calling you Katherine Mahoun, and Sathan's name was David Mahoun.

Lykeways ye confessed that Sathan was an uncouth man with black cloathes, and ane hood on his head, and he said to you that ye should never want, but have enough, and ye declared that there was with you the deceased Bessie Neil, Bessie Henderson, Agnes Murie, Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon; Margaret Litster, and Isabel Rutherford. Ye confessed, lykways, that ye was at another meeting with Sathan at the Stanriegait, bewest the Cruik of Devon, with the foresaid six deceased women, and Elspet Dempster, spouse to James Beverage; Agnes Drysdale, spouse to John Blackwood of Coldrain; Agnes and Marget Beveridge, in Braughtie; Janet Herd and ane woman ye kent not; Gules Hutton, in Gart-whenean; Janet Brugh, in Cruik of Devon; Margaret Young and Christian Grieve, and Sathan shook hands with them all.

Lykeways, ye confessed ye was at another meeting with Sathan at the Heathrie Know beeast the Cruik of Devon, where the Gallows stands, before midnight, and Sathan shook hands with you to continue his servant, and the foresaids hail women was there likeways, and did all dance and ane piper play.

Likeways, ye confessed that ye was at ane other meeting with Sathan at the back of Knockentinnie, at the Gaitside, with the forsesaid hail women.

Lykeways, ye confessed that ye was at another meeting at the Bents of Newbiggin, and the said hail women was likeways there, whilk hail premises, above mentioned, ye freely confessed and declared in

presence of Mr Alexander Ireland, minister at Fossaquhay; Mr James Forsyth, minister at Muckhart; the Laird of Tullyboll; John Hutton of Easter Ballilisk; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie of Tullyboll; Robert Livingstone of Cruik Miln; William Livingstone, his son.

THE CONFESSION AND DITTAYS OF THE SAID JANET PATON, IN KILDUFF.

Ye, the said Janet Paton, of the age of three score years, are indyted and accused of the sin and crime of witchcraft. Ye confessed that Martinmas bygone ane year the devil appeared to you coming down the hill of Cleish, and desired you to be his servant, whilk ye then refused, and about Yule then after he appeared to you again coming from your own house to the Gelvane, and desired you again to be his servant, quilk ye did, and put ane hand to the crown of your head and the other hand to the sole of your foot, and delivered yourself over to him and his service.

Lykways, ye confessed that Sathan desired you to renounce and forsake your baptism, whilk ye did, and Sathan gave you a new name, calling you Nans Mahoun, and Sathan's name was . . .

Lykeways, ye confessed that Sathan appointed you ane other meeting at the Stanriegate bewest the Cruik of Devon, whilk ye also obeyed, and declared that there was there Marget Huggon, in Gelvin; Marget and Agncs Beveridge, in Braughtie; Janet Brugh, in Cruik of Devon; Gules Hutton, in Gartwhynean; Marget Young and Christian Grieve in Quorlawhill, and they did all dance and ane piper play, they being about 16 or 18 in number; and Sathan had all the said times black coloured cloathes and ane blue bonnet, being an unkie-like man. This ye did freely confess in presence of the above-written ministers of Fossoquhay and Muckhart; the Laird of Tullyboll; John Hutton of Easter Ballilisk; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie of Tullyboll; Robert Livingstone of Cruik Miln; and William Livingstone, his son.

An Court of Justiciary holden at the Cruik of Devon, the fifth day of May, sixteen hundred and sixty-two years, by Mr Alex. Colville of Blair, His Majestie's Justice Depute General over Scotland.

Nomina Assize.

William Henderson, David . . . James . . . Robert . . . James Alexander of Balruddrie; Edmund Mercer, Gavin Alexander, portioner of Blairhill; Adam Hutton, in Easter Downhill; James . . . Thomas Peirson, Robert Quhyte, in Gartwhynean; James Blackwood, in . . . Adam . . . Archibald . . .

It is found and declared by the hail assize, all in one voice, that the foresaid Janet Paton is guilty and convict in three several points of witchcraft and sorcerie, according to her own free confession, and that she is convict be brute and fame as an sorcerer and an notorious witch, by the mouth of the said Edmund Mercer, Chancellor to the said assize.

Sic Subscribitur, EDMUND MERCER, Chan.

For the whilk causes above named, the General Justice Depute gives sentence, and ordains that the said Janet Paton shall be taken away to the place called the Lamblaires bewest the Cruik Miln, the place of her execution this day, being the fifth day of this instant month of May, betwixt four and five in the afternoon, and there to be strangled to death be the hand of the hangman, and thereafter her body to be burnt to ashes for her trespasses; and ordains all her movable goods and gear to be escheit and inbrought to his Majestie's use for the causes aforesaid; whereupon Alexander Abernethie, dempster, gave sentence.

Sic Subscribitur, J. ALEXANDER, Clk.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST JANET BRUGH, SPOUSE OF JAMES MOREIS, AT THE CRUIK OF DEVON, ABOUT THE AGE OF FIFTY YEARS; CHRISTIAN GRIEVE, SPOUSE TO ANDREW BEVERAGE.

Ye both two are indyted and accused, forasmeikle as by the divine laws of the Almighty God set down in his sacred word, especially the 18 chap. of Deuteronomy and the 20 chap. of Leviticus, made against sorcerers and practisers of witchcraft, sorcerie, charming, soothsaying, and against the seekers of help or responses of them, and in the 22d chap. of Exodus, the 18 verse, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," threatening and denouncing to the committer of such devilish practices the punishment of death, according to the whilk law of Almighty God. It is statute and ordained by divers Acts of Parliament of this kingdom, especially the 73rd Act of the ninth Parliament of our Sovereign Lord's dearest great-grandmother, Queen Mary of good memory. It is statute that no manner of person nor persons of whatever estate, degree, or condition they be of, presume nor take upon hand at any time thereafter to use or practise any manner of witchcraft, sorcerie, or necromancie, nor give themselves forth to have any such craft or knowledge thereof, thereby to abuse the people; neither that no person or persons seek any help, response, or consultation at any sick foresaid, nor users of sorcerie, witchcraft, or necromancie, under the pain and punishment of death, to be execute als well against the users and practisers and abusers as the seekers of the said help, response, or consultation, as in the said laws of Almighty God and Acts of Parliament at more length is contained. Notwithstanding of the said, Janet Brugh, for devilish and sinful ends, having received instructions and devilish informations from the devil, your covenanted master, how to practise and put in execution the trade of witchcraft and sorcerie. Lykeas clearing of your said sorcerie and witchcraft upon the 3rd day of April, 1662, umquhill Bessie Henderson, in Kilduff, being arraigned

before the General Justice Depute, and make and mention an confession of her own guiltiness and of the guiltiness of others in the sin of witchcraft amongst the rest, she dilated you, the said Janet Brugh, to be alse guilty of witchcraft as the said Bessie was herself. Upon the 23 April, 1662, umquhill Robert Wilson, in Cruik of Devon, dilated you, the said Janet Brugh, and declared that you was at an meeting with the devil with the rest of the witches at Stanriegate, bewest the Cruik of Devon. The same day, umquhill Bessie Neil, in Gelvin, dilated you, the said Janet Brugh, to be at ane meeting two years since with the devil at Turfhills. The same day, umquhill Margaret Litster, in Kilduff, delated you, the said Janet Brugh, to be at ane meeting with Sathan in winter last, at Gibson's Craig. The same day, umquhill Janet Paton, in Cruik of Devon, delated you, the said Janet Brugh, to be at ane meeting with Sathan at Turfhills. Lykeways, umquhill Margaret Hoggan, in Gelvin, delated you, the said Janet Brugh, to be at ane meeting with Sathan at the Stanriegate; and sicklike umquhill Janet Paton, in Kilduff, delated you, the said Janet Brugh, to be at ane meetiag with Sathan at the Stanriegate.

And siclike, upon the 23rd day of April, 1662, Mr Robert Alexander, bailie of Tullybole, received commission from Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, General Justice Depute to his Majestie, to call and apprehend you, the said Janet Brugh, and to commit you to sure firmance for that horrid sin of witchcraft; whereupon you, the said Janet Brugh, fled and displenished your house; and thereafter apprehended and put in firmance, ye confessed before William Halliday of Tullyboal; Mr James Halkerston, minister of Cleish; Mr James Forsyth, minister of Muckhart; Mr William Blackburn, bailie of Camphill; Thomas Hutton of Easter Ballilisk; and John Drummond of Waster Pitgobar, and several other gentlemen, that ye was at ane meeting with above twenty persons and ane muckle black man with them at Stanriegate; as also that same day, ye, the

said Janet Brugh, confessed before Mr William Livingstone of Cruik Miln; John Livingstone of Rantrieknow; William Hutson, schoolmaster, and several others, that there was with you at the foresaid meeting at the Stanriegate, Jules Hutton, Elspet Dempster, spouse to James Beverage, Marion Thomson, Christian Grieve, spouse to Andrew Beverage, and Margaret Young, spouse to William Beverage. All this ye confessed upon the 5th May, 1662, in presence of the foresaid witnesses, whilk ye cannot deny.

And lykeways, upon the 10th day of June, 1662, in presence of William Halliday of Tullybole; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie; John Grieve, portioner in Carnbo, and several others, ye confessed this about Yule last by past, ye was at ane meeting with Sathan at Turf-hills, when Sathan desired you to be his servant, whilk ye willingly promised to be, and lykeways desired you to renounce your baptism, whilk ye willingly did, and gave an mark whilk ye thought was not very sore, and gave you ane name, calling you Janet Mahoun, and called his name to you, Watt Mahoun; and that he desired you to put ane of your hands on the crown of your head and the other to the sole of your foot, and deliver all betwixt them to him, which ye accordingly did, being in company with all those that were burnt at the Cruik of Devon, and Christian Grieve, Margaret Young, and Margaret Keltie, and appointed an new meeting to be shortly thereafter at the Stanriegate, whilk ye, the said Janet Brugh, kept, being in company with you all the aforesaid persons that was at the Turf-hills, and Marion Thomson, and Elspet Dempster, spouse to James Beverage.

Lykeways, ye confessed that ye was at the Bents of Balrudderie and Gibson's Craig, where Sathan was present at them both, and there was in company with you the hail forenamed witches that was burnt at the Cruik of Devon, with Elspet Dempster, spouse to James Beverage, Gules Hutton, . . . Drummond, Annas Craigie,

Marion Thomson and her daughter, Margaret Keltie and her daughter, Christian Grieve, and Margaret Young.

Likeas, ye confessed that ye got rough bread and sour drink from Sathan at the Bents of Balruddrie, and he bade them pray to him that gave them it.

Also, ye confessed at Gibson's Craig that the devil said the west quarter is not up yet, but he should gar them repent it. Also, ye confessed . . . a long old man with an white beard was there, did cast either an stone or an bone at him and break . . . All this ye did in presence of the said William Halliday, William Grieve, and Andrew . . .

And siclike, upon the 11th day of June, 1662, in presence of Wm. Halliday of Tullyboal, Mr Robert Alexander, bailie, ye, the said Janet Brugh, adhered to all that ye had formerly spoken, and lykeways declared that Agnes and Margaret Beverages were present with you at all the foresaid meetings; and upon the 12th of June, 1662, ye confessed and acknowledged that all what ye formerly spake was true, and declared that Annas Cunninghame was with you at the Bents of Balruddrie and Gibson's Craig at those meetinge. This ye did before the above-written witnesses and diverse others.

THE CONFESSION AND DITTAYS OF THE FORESAID CHRISTIAN GRIEVE.

Ye, the said Christian Grieve, are indyted and accused of the foresaid sin of witchcraft and sorcerie upon the 3rd of April, 1662. Umquhill Bessie Henderson, in Kilduff, being arraigned before the General Justice Depute to his Majesty, and makand mention of her own guiltiness and the guiltiness of others in the sin of witchcraft, amongst the rest she delates you, the said Christian Grieve, to be alse guilty of witchcraft as the said Bessie was herself, and that ye was at an meeting with Sathan and the rest amongst Thomas Whyte, his rye. The said day, umquhill Robert Wilson, in Cruik of Devon,

delated you, the said Christian Grieve, and declared that ye was at ane meeting with the devil and the rest of the witches at the Stanriegate, bewest the Cruik of Devon. The same day, umquhill Bessie Neil, in Gelvin, delated you, the said Christian Grieve, to be at ane meeting with the devil and the rest of the witches at Turfhills. The said umquhill Janet Paton, in the Cruik of Devon, delated you, the said Christian Grieve, to be at an meeting with Sathan at the Turfhills with the rest of the witches, and siclike upon the day of . . the umquhill Margaret Huggon, in Gelvin, delated you, the said Christian Grieve, to be at a meeting with Sathan and the rest of the witches at the Stanriegate, bewest the Cruik of Devon. And siclike, upon the 5th day of May, 1662, umquhill Janet Paton, in Kilduff, delated you, the said Christian Grieve, to be at an meeting with Sathan and the rest of the witches at Stanriegate, bewest the Cruik of Devon. And siclike, Janet Brugh, in Cruik of Devon, delated you, the said Christian Grieve, upon the 23rd day of April, to be at an meeting with Sathan and the rest of the witches at the Stanriegate, bewest the Cruik of Devon; and at another meeting at the Turfhills about Yule last bypast, and two other meetings—to wit, ane at the Bents of Balruddrie, and ane other at Gibson's Craig, where Sathan and the rest of the witches were present with you at both.

And siclike, upon the 13th day of May, 1662, in presence of Mr Alexander Ireland, minister of Fossquhay; Mr Robert Alexander, baillie of Tullyboll; Thomas Anderson, merchant; and several others, having sent for the said minister and bailie, ye, the said Christian Grieve, freely confessed that ye was at an meeting with Sathan at the back of Andrew Dowie, his house, where Sathan desired you to be his servant, whilk ye willingly granted to be.

Likeways, Sathan desired you to renounce your baptism, whilk ye also willingly did; as also ye confessed that Sathan gave you ane name and told you his name, but ye had forgotten them and could

not tell them. Likeways, ye confessed that Sathan did first appear to you at the back of Andrew Dowie's like ane little man with an blue bonnet on his head, with rough grey clothes on him, being in company with you, Margaret Young, your neighbour, and that ye came to the foresaid meeting immediately after your goodman and the rest went to bed, and that ye locked the door and put the key under the same, and that ye and the said Margaret Young, your neighbour, came foot for foot to the foresaid meeting, and that ye stayed at the foresaid meeting about the space of two hours, and came back again on your foot, and the foresaid Margaret Young with you, and found the key of the door in that same place where you left it, and declared that neither your husband nor any other in the house was waking at your return. And siclike, upon the 19th day of June, 1662, the minister posing you upon the foresaid particulars, especially anent the renunciation of your baptism, ye answered that Sathan speired at you if ye would do it, and ye answered, "I warrand did I," and desired to put in your own words. This ye did in presence of Mr Alexander Ireland, minister; Mr Robert Alexander, bailie; William Livingstone, William Robertson, and William Hutton, indwellers in the Cruik of Devon.

Sic Subscribitur, MR ALEXR. IRELAND.

Court of Justiciary holden at the Cruik of Devon the twenty-ane day of July, 1662 years, be Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, His Majestie's General Justice Depute. Quhilk day the said Justice Depute creat Mr Robert Alexander, clerk; Robert Livingstone, officer; and Thomas Gibson, dempster.

Nomina Assize.

William Dempster, portioner of Kinross; William Duncan, fewar of Finlarie; Robert Steedman of Benegall; William Graham, merchant, Kinross; Robert Steedman, at the Cross; Henry Douglass, saidlair; James Duncan, in Kinross; Robert

Robertson, there; John Stocks, in Lathrae; Thomas Blackwood, in Coldrain; John Simson, in Lethangie; William Flockhart, in Annocroich; John Burt, portioner of Bolado; John Dowie, portioner there; James Thomson, portioner of Mau.

It is found and declared by the hail assize, all in one voice, that the forenamed Janet Brugh is guilty and convicted in three several points of witchcraft and sorcerie, and that according to her own free confession, and is convicted as an notorious witch by common bruit and fame in manner above deducit.

And concerning Christian Grieve, the hail assize in one voice declared they will not convict her in no point of witchcraft nor clenze her of no point, by the mouth of the said Robert Robertson, Chancellor.

Sic Subscribitur, ROBERT ROBERTSON.

For the quhilk causes the above written Justice General Depute gives sentence, and ordains that the said Janet Brugh be taken away to that place called the Lamlaires, bewest the Cruik Miln, the place of her execution, to-morrow, being the twenty-two day of this instant month of July, betwixt three and four of the clock in the afternoon, and there to be strangled to the death by the hand of the hangman, and thereafter her body to be burnt to ashes; and ordains all her moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought to his Majesty's use for the causes foresaid. Whereupon Thomas Gibson gave doom.

Sic Subscribitur, MR ROBERT ROBERTSON, Chan.

Court of Justice holden at the Cruik of Devon, the eighth day of October, 1662 years, be Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, General Justice Depute to His Majesty. Quhilk day the said Justice Depute create Mr Robert Alexander, clerk; Robert Livingstone, officer; and Thomas Gibson, dempster.

Nomina Assize.

William Dempster, portioner in Kinross; William Duncan, fewar of Finlarie; Robert Steedman of Benegall; Robert

Steedman, at the Cross; William Graham, merchant in Kinross; Henry Douglass, saidlair; James Duncan, in Kinross; Robert Robertson, there; John Stocks, in Lathro; Thomas Blackwood, in Coldrain; John Simson, in Lethangie; William Flockhart, in Annocroich; John Burt, portioner of Bolado; John Dowie, portioner there; James Thomson, portioner in Mau.

It is found and declared by the hail assize, all in one voice, that the forenamed Christian Grieve is guilty and convict of three several points of witchcraft and sorcerie, and that according to her own free confession and the probation of the most famous witnesses, and is convict as an notorious witch by common fame and brute in manner above deducit by the mouth of the above written Robert Robertson, Chancellor, in regard they found the same more fully proven nor it was done formerly.

Sic Subscribitur, ROBERT ROBERTSON.

For the whilk causes the above written Justice General Depute gives sentence, and ordains that the said Christian Grieve be taken away to that place called the Lamlaires, bewest the Cruik of Devon, the place of her execution, upon Monday next, the thirteenth day of this instant month of October, betwixt two and three hours in the afternoon, and there to be strangled to the death by the hand of the hangman, and thereafter her body to be burnt to ashes for her trespasses; and ordains all her moveable goods and gear to be escheat and inbrought to his Majesty's use for the causes foresaid. Whereupon Thomas Gibson gave doom.

Sic Subscribitur, MR ROBERT ALEXANDER, Clk.

THE TERRIBLE PARISH

THE TERRIBLE PARISH

THE Church of the parish of Kinkell, in Strathearn, was dedicated to St. Bean, the Bishop of Murtlach, who suffered martyrdom in the tenth century, and became one of the latest saints in the Scottish Kalendar. It was appropriated to the Abbey of Inchaffray by the foundation charter of Gilbert, Earl of Strathearn, and the cure was served till the Reformation by a vicar appointed by that house.[1]

The lands of Kinkell belonged to the Earldom of Strathearn. On the 6th of December, 1406, Patrick, Earl of Strathearn, with the consent of Euphemia, his wife, granted an annual rent of five pounds Scots from their two towns of Kincall, in Perthshire, to Euphemia, daughter of Sir Alexander de Lindsay of Glenesk, which was confirmed

[1] *Breviarium Aberdonense. Liber Insule Missarum.*

by the Duke of Albany, as Regent of Scotland, on the 15th December, 1412.[1]

Little Dunkeld was commonly held to be the "Terrible Parish" in Scotland referred to in the old rhyme; but the real locality is that of the parish of Kinkell, in Strathearn, the mistake in identity having arisen in the similarity of names. The lines are as follows:—

"Was there e'er sic a parish, a parish, a parish;
Was there e'er sic a parish as that o' Kinkell?
They've hangit the minister, drooned the precentor,
Dang doon the steeple, and drucken the bell."

The explanation given of the circumstances which gave rise to the rhyme is that the minister had been hanged, the precentor drowned in attempting to cross the Earn from the adjoining parish of Trinity-Gask, the steeple had been taken down, and that the bell had been sold to the parish of Cockpen, near Edinburgh.

The story of the minister's career is a sad one. Mr Richard Duncan had his degree of A.M. from the University of Edinburgh, 2nd July, 1667; was licensed by Alexander, Bishop of that Diocese, 10th April, 1673, and ordained minister of Kinkell

[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, p. 2501. No. 5. Sir Harris Nicholas's *Earldom of Strathearn.*

between 16th September and 11th November, 1674.[1] He was in good repute for some years, but came to a melancholy and untimely end. He appears not to have got on well with his heritors and kirk-session. The churches of Trinity-Gask and Kinkell had both got into a ruinous condition, and required rebuilding. On 13th April, 1680, the Bishop and Synod instructed Mr Duncan to use all lawful endeavours to deal effectually with the heritors for rebuilding the churches, and if, after endeavour he could not prevail, to raise letters of horning against them. He reported to the Synod on 12th October, 1680, that notwithstanding he had used all endeavours with the heritors for rebuilding the said churches, and persons of honour had appeared very willing, and that the Marquis of Athole was most willing to assist to the doing of the said work, yet divers of the rest of the heritors were refractory, and that, therefore, he had raised letters of horning against them. The Bishop and Synod appointed a deputation, in name of the Synod, to go to the Marquis of Athole, to render their thanks to his Lordship for his willingness to

[1] *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ.*

do so good a work, and humbly to entreat that his Lordship would continue his Christian resolutions till the work be perfected, as also he would take his own prudent way for moving the rest of the heritors thereto. And in case the said work should not be gone about and perfected, they ordained Mr Duncan to proceed in using legal diligence for effectuating the same, and to report to the next Synod.

In addition to his complaint of the unwillingness of the heritors to rebuild, Mr Duncan reported to the same Synod that the heritors and kirk-session of the parish of Kinkell had caused cut down some ash trees growing in the kirkyard, had sold them, and given the money thereof for casting of the bell, without the consent of their present minister, the said Mr Richard Duncan. The Bishop and Synod deferred this matter until the next Synod.

At next Synod, held on 16th October, 1681, the Laird of Machany presented and gave in to the Bishop and Synod a supplication, subscribed by himself and most part of the heritors and elders of the parish of Kinkell and Trinity-Gask, against Mr Richard Duncan, minister of the said united churches, representing his gross ignorance in

re-baptising a child, and other gross, rude, and scandalous offences and misdemeanours committed by him. This supplication was taken into consideration and referred until a future meeting of Synod, with a view to think on such overtures as might be for the good of the parish, and to keep union and peace amongst them.

Mr Duncan was desired by the Bishop to acknowledge his faults, but he seemed to be somewhat averse to do so, and so gave little or no satisfaction therein to the Bishop and Synod. No record seems to have been kept of the proceedings or the adjourned meeting at which the complaint against Mr Duncan was to be considered. It appears, however, that Mr Duncan was deposed before the 1st of February, 1682; but worse than deposition was in store for the minister of Kinkell. Lord Fountainhall gives the following account of his melancholy end:—

"June 6, 1682.—One Mr Duncan, a minister in Perthshire, is condemned to death by the Earl of Perth, as Stewart of Crieff, for murdering an infant begotten by him with his servant maid, it being found buried under his own hearth-stone. He was convicted on very slender presumptions, which, however, they might amount to degradation and banishment, yet it was hard to extend them to death."

The name of the maiden referred to was Catherine Stalker.

It is said that a reprieve was obtained in his favour through the interest of the future Lord Chancellor, and the messenger was observed on the way by Pitkellony, near Muthill, about two miles distant. He arrived about twenty minutes too late, which caused a deep feeling of sympathy in the minister's fate.

Tradition further says that Mr Duncan, when led forth for execution on the "kind gallows of Crieff," avowed his innocency of the crime, and declared that after his being thrown off, a white dove would alight on the gallows in token thereof, and that this, accordingly, took place. There is a notice of the behaviour of Mr Duncan at his execution, from which it appears he engaged in devotional exercises, and denied his alleged crime to the last. It occurs in the "Relation of rare providence that befell a young child, daughter to a husbandman or farmorer, whose name is Donald M'Grigor, dwelling in the parochin of Monzie, living in the Sheriffdom of Perth."[1] We are told that some space before that time—the date of

[1] *Law's Memorials.*

the occurrence being 1683—that "there was a Conformist minister executed for murder, which he denied to the last that he had any accession to it. She was desired to ask if he had any hand in the child's blood who was murdered. It was answered that he was guilty of that murder; then, said she, how can that be, for I saw him pray and sing a psalm at his death. To this it was answered—Notwithstanding, that doth not make any innocence of these things which they had done. Then she said she heard him deny it. To this, answer it was no good that bade him do that."

Kinkell was long ago united with the parish of Trinity-Gask, but to provide ordinances the minister had to officiate on alternate Sundays at Kinkell. On one of these occasions the precentor, in crossing the river from Trinity-Gask, is said to have been drowned.

Notwithstanding the exertions of Mr Duncan, backed by the authority of the Bishop and Synod, and the compulsitors of the civil law, the churches of Kinkell and Trinity-Gask were not repaired or rebuilt until some years after Mr Duncan's death. In the record of the Synod we find on 12th April, 1686, there is the following

entry:—"The Bishop and Synod ordains the brethren of Ochterarder that they may delegate some of their number to wait upon and converse with the Bishop at the down-sitting of the Parliament, or at some other convenient time, that they may speak with the heritors of Kinkell and Trinity-Gask anent the reparation of the two ruinous churches."

The Church of Kinkell appears to have been rebuilt from its foundation, and corresponds with the style of building at the time of the Revolution. It has no steeple, and this want may be explained by the recorded reluctance of the heritors to provide a place of worship for the parish. The part of the rhyme in reference to the steeple may have arisen from the demolition of the previous edifice with its steeple when the new church was built.

The fourth charge of the indictment in the rhyme referring to the bell of the church has been strangely verified. The tradition is quite familiar with the folks in Cockpen in regard to the bell having been sold to that parish. The inscription on the bell hanging in the steeple of Cockpen Kirk is as follows:—"This bell belongs to the Parish of Kinkail"; and immediately beneath—"Jasper van Erpecom me

fecit, 1680." The bell was cast on the Continent in 1680 for the parish of Kinkell, and was brought to Cockpen not later than 23rd October, 1708. Two money payments appear from the kirk-session records of Trinity-Gask in connection with it, the one on the above date, and the other on the 29th May, 1709, in which it is called "The great bel." This bell was used in the old kirk of Cockpen, the ruins of which still stand a little to the south of Dalhousie Castle and adjacent to the site of Cockpen House, the residence of the Laird of Cockpen. When the new parish kirk was built in the year 1820, about a mile farther north, near the village of Bonnyrigg, the bell was transferred to it, and is still rung every Sunday announcing public worship. It may be remarked that the date on the bell coincides with the fact that the price of the trees in the churchyard was devoted towards the expense of its casting, and also shows that it had been used in the steeple of the old edifice, and was not required in the new one, where no steeple had been erected. The price of the trees was, as we have seen, devoted to the purchase of a bell, but the price of the bell itself, according to the rhyme, was not similarly devoted "*ad pios usus*." It is to

be hoped, however, that this additional scandal may have only existed by a poet's licence.

Mr Hill Burton in his History of Scotland alludes to the rhyme as having reference to the parish of Little Dunkeld, and this corresponds with the way in which it is generally, though not invariably, recited. But the undoubted fact that the minister of Kinkell was executed, even though all the other circumstances cannot now be verified, shows pretty conclusively that Kinkell is the parish to which it is applicable. Nothing can be adduced to connect Dunkeld with such a tragedy. The turbulent relations between the Bishop of Dunkeld and the people of his Diocese were in pre-Reformation times, and could not have given rise to the words of the rhyme which refer to the modern Presbyterian Church and its officials of minister and precentor.

THE LONE LADY OF KILDEIS

THE LONE LADY OF KILDEIS

A DRUMMOND of Kildeis had to leave Scotland for his Jacobite principles. While an exile in France his wife resided at the mansion of Kildeis. After years of exile, on a dark night, a stranger came to the door saying he was benighted, and asking for lodgings. The Lady was called by the sole domestic, who had already refused the request; but the horseman insisted on seeing the mistress of the house to ascertain if she would not accede to granting him the desired hospitality. The Lady told him she was a lone woman, and could on no account think of admitting a stranger at an unseasonable hour, but informed him that he could find lodgings at a change-house in the adjoining village of Muthill. He continued to expostulate, and said he would not take a refusal, and insisted

upon getting admission, which the Lady as vigorously declined. At last he leaped from his horse and clasped the Lady in his arms, while uttering the following words :—

"The Lady sae lang has lain her lane,
She kens na the Laird when he's come hame."

The above information was got from an old lady whose grandmother was a Drummond of Kildeis.

THE WANDERINGS OF STROWAN ROBERTSON AFTER CULLODEN

THE WANDERINGS OF STROWAN ROBERTSON AFTER CULLODEN

DUNCAN ROBERTSON of Drumachin was an ardent supporter of Prince Charles Edward, but through illness was unable to be out in 1745. He, however, did much for the Prince's cause in Atholl. After Culloden he skulked in the hills till the death, in 1749, of his kinsman, Alexander Robertson of Strowan, the Jacobite poet. By that event he succeeded to the chieftainship and estate. His wife and children were threatened with military execution if they stayed in a little hut where they had sought shelter. His tenants struggled in vain against the Government, which was bent on his ruin. He was in hiding in numerous places in Scotland until his escape to Holland in 1753. He

reached Paris in this year with his wife and four children, having 39 louis in his pocket. His family had to live in exile for thirty-nine years. His two sons, Alexander and Colzear, were officers in the Scottish Brigade in the Dutch service.

Strowan was intimately connected with the principal Jacobite families of Scotland. He married one of the eight daughters of the second Lord Nairne. One of her sisters was the wife of Lord Strathallan, another of Lord Dunmore, another of Oliphant of Gask, another of Robertson of Lude, and another of Graham of Orchill. Her father, Lord Nairne, was a son of John, Marquis of Atholl, by Amelia Stanley, the daughter of James, Earl of Derby, whose mother was a daughter of the Duke of Trémouille.

As above stated, Strowan skulked in Scotland for seven years after the ruin of the Prince's cause, wandering, like him, from place to place. Looking to the number of places he was in—no fewer than 157, it is wonderful how he escaped, more particularly as the search after him was not allowed to drop. In a letter of Lady Gask of 26th April, 1753, referring to the arrest of Dr Cameron, the brother of Lochiel, and the last who suffered for

the Stuart cause, she says:—"Doctor Cameron was carried to London. Great search has been made for Dunc. and others," the Dunc. here being Strowan.

The following, copied from a note-book in the handwriting of his son and successor in Strowan, will be read with interest, more particularly when it is borne in mind that Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, the sweet singer of Strathearn, was the fugitive's grand-daughter. Many of his hiding-places were the residences of the followers and sufferers in the Rising, and how he evaded apprehension in his wanderings seems even more surprising than the escape of the young Ascanius himself.

COPIED FROM A SHATTER'D PAPER OF D. ROBERTSON, LATE OF STROWAN.

My different quarters in Scotland from April 16th, 1746, till July 30th, 1753, that I sail'd for Zeland.

Dalmigarry.	Balnespick's.
Dalwhiny.	Castle Grant.
Etridge.	Boat of Liddich.
Gordonhall.	Fochaber.
Killichuntly.	Portsoy.
Ballinrich.	Roseharty.
John Glass's.	Achieres.
Rynabroich.	Kinninmond.

Crichy.
Kintore.
Pitodrie.
Lord Forbes's.
Bridge of Auchlossen.
Cromarr.
Brakeley.
Abergeldy.
Lary.
Cluny in Braemar.
Innercauld's Fiddler's.
Smith in Miltoun.
Allan-choich.
Boatman's of Castletown.
Lamond's in Glencluny.
Dalmore.
Inney.
Craigfadrig.
Shealing in Glenfeshy.
Lechois Sheal.
Felare Sheal.
Skoiltan Sheal.
Hill near Skoiltan.
Camechoire Sheal.
Lynterevy.
Wm. Robertson's in Glenfarnat.
Finlay Farquharson's.
Corredoin.
Hill near Glelochesy.
Spittle Angus Morris.
Spittle John Murray's.
Tombui.
Soillary.
Kirkmichael.
Miltown Innercrosky.
Baron Reid's.
Sanders Rae's.
Tullichcurran.
Kendrogin.
MacCoul's.
Dalcharny.
Straloch's
Mackstinny's.
Fraser the Miller's.
Balnacraig's.
Donald Og's Barn.
Angus in Fordu.
Susan Robertson's.
Mrs Robertson, Balnacraigs.
Benegloe.
Thomas Beg's.
Glencromby.
Achalenie.
Kinaldie.
Gresich Carid.
Kirktown of Strowan.
Ballnuan Barn.
Croft Cromby.
Balluan Minister's.
Lude.
Gardener's.

Kinrory.
Orchil-beg.
Fascaly.
Gardener's.
Funcastle.
Miltown, Funcastle.
Frenich.
Foss.
Kynachan.
Bohespick.
Cary.
Donaldbean's Barn.
Kinloch Ranach.
Leragan.
Lynevreck.
Aulich.
Drumglascigh.
Teinacuile.
Miggerny.
Mulineonan.
Coisheville.
Kirktown Weem.
Inchbrecky.
Abercarny.
Fowlis.
Logy-Almond.
Gask.
Machany.
Orchill.
Condie.
Newtown.
Rhind.
Nairne.
Lohock.
Colly John Foggo's.
Colly Neil Stewart's.
John Thomas.
Willy Menzies.
Priestown.
Stanley.
Taymount.
Loan-head.
Stob-hall.
Kinclevin Stewart's.
Meikleour House.
Meikleour Town.
Mill of Ratray.
Coupar-Angus.
Brechin.
Fordun.
Ardblair.
Kinloch.
Balcairn.
Easter Gourdy.
Wester Gourdy.
Kincairny.
Stentown.
Ja. Bisset's at Cairnies.
Dungartle.
Slockenhole.
Craigsheal.
Glen Derby.

Lonbuan, Lochgarry.
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Mills of Forth.
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Etherny.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY OF INCHAFFRAY IN 1789, CONTAINED IN A CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL HUTTON AND MR JOHN DOW, THEN TENANT OF THE ABBEY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY OF INCHAFFRAY IN 1789, CONTAINED IN A CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL HUTTON AND MR JOHN DOW, THEN TENANT OF THE ABBEY

"Than had nocht the antiquiteis and monumentis of this realme bene schaimfullie distroyit, quilkis in all uther realmis ar heichly prysit and regardit, be all men of godlie leirnyng and jugement."—*Ane oratioune be Master Quintine Kennedy, Commendatour of Corsraguell, 1561.*

THE following correspondence between the eminent antiquary, General Hutton, whose collections as to the ecclesiastical and monastic remains of Scotland are deposited in the Advocates' Library, and Mr John Dow, tenant of the Abbey of Inchaffray, will be read with interest. The

ancestors of Mr Dow had been in possession of the Abbey lands from the time of the Reformation, and he was consequently qualified to give information as to the buildings. The letters from General Hutton are in the hands of the contributor. Mr Dow's communication is among the General's MSS., vol. vii., Perth, No. 115. Adv. Lib., Edin.

1. *General Hutton to Mr John Dow, Abbey of Inchaffray, Parish of Madderty.*

KELSO, 26th February, 1789.

MR DOWE,—Since I saw you in October last, I have unluckily lost or mislaid the memorandums I made concerning the Abbey of Inchaffray. I write, therefore, to request you will have the goodness to favour me with as full an account as you can give me of the present remains of the building, and what other parts now destroyed you and your father remember standing, mentioning the times as nearly as you can recollect when they fell or were taken down. I wish you would look carefully about the ruins, to see if there are any inscriptions or carved stones, &c. A plan or ground-plot of the remains laid down from the dimensions of the different parts, with a compass to explain the situation, would be very acceptable to me. Perhaps young Mr Ramsay would do me the favour to assist in making out this plan or ground-plot. Inchaffray is called in Latin, "Insula Missarum." Pray, is there any appearance of the ground on which the building stands ever having been surrounded with water? I hope you will oblige me so far as to write me as full an account as you possibly can, not omitting the smallest circumstances. Mention anything curious that you or your father, &c., have found

among the ruins, either as to carved stones, coins, coffins, tombstones, monuments, inscriptions, &c. Mention, too, whether you have heard anything of the bells of the Abbey since I saw you. I wrote to the minister of Dunning upon this subject, but he has not yet answered my letter.

I will be glad to hear from you as soon as you can, my stay in the country for the present being very uncertain. Be assured I shall not forget your trouble, and if you wish it I will send you a historical account of the Abbey, containing all the circumstances I have collected relating to its Abbots, &c., &c. You will direct your letter to H. Hutton, Esq., at Capt. Dickson's, Kelso. I hope yourself and family have been in good health since I saw you. Wishing you all every happiness and comfort through life.—I am, your sincere friend and well-wisher,

H. HUTTON.

2. *Mr Dow to General Hutton.*

ABBEY OF INCHAFFRAY, 5th March, 1789.

SIR,—I was favoured with yours of the 26th ultimo, and in obedience to your request shall endeavour to give you accurate an account as I can of the Abbey of Inchaffray. What now remains of this Abbey is the north gavel of the house where the clergy lived —with the walls in ruins of the area—which formed a regular square, on the east or north-east side of which stood the church, having two large aisles on the north, with a small entry in the middle. In these aisles was found a stone, now lying at Abercairney, on which were carved a lion, and the effigy of the Earl of Strathern—in armour and flower de luces. On the north-east corner stood the steeple, formed of carved work. This steeple fell in one night, during the end of K. Charles 2d's reign. On the S.E. side of the church was the burial-yard. At the S.E. side of the church stood

also a four-square house, the intention of which I cannot now recollect. Within the church are two stone coffins yet to be seen—both entire. But as to the dimensions of the church I cannot now give you an exact measurement, but they are rather longer than what I gave you formerly. The area may be about sixty feet long nearly, as far as I can recollect from memory. On the south side of the area stood the Chapter House, and beyond it another very large building, the use of which I cannot now recollect. On this side also stood the Front House, where the Lord Abbot lived himself. To this house was the water conducted from a neighbouring well, still called Lady Well, by lead pipes which emptied themselves into a large stone trough, which still remains. On the west side was the clergy's house, the N. gavel of which stands as above, with a large vault below. There were other five vaults, which are now destroyed. Straight west from this stood another large building, said to be the clergy's—with a wall between the two buildings—and beyond that was a fruit garden, of which my grandfather ate the fruit. On the north or north-west side was an entry, which extended to the rising ground on the north. On the south side was the principal entry leading to the Abbey from Madderty side, with a bridge across the Pow or water then standing. On the rising ground on the south was the Pigeon House, with a large building for the accommodation of strangers. With regard to the time at which these various buildings were pulled down, I cannot pretend to give an accurate statement, as they were taken down at different periods to supply stones to modern buildings; but if this be essentially requisite, I might with a little trouble find out the periods accurately. The buildings are mostly formed of carved stones, but there are no inscriptions nor dates to be found. One half of a stone only remains, with some old characters, which cannot now be read. The whole buildings were surrounded with water, narrower on the south and north, but wider

and more extensive towards the east and west. I forgot to mention the East Entry, which extended to the north-east rising ground by a stone causeway, 60 feet broad. Around the whole building was a wall of ashler work beyond the outer side of the Precinct in order to keep off the water. To the north, on a rising hill, is a place called the "Scar-Law Knowe," on which they tried their criminals, and on the south side is a little mound called "Tillichandie," on which they were executed, on which the Executioner's Lodge stands to this day. As to the monuments, I have never seen any—it is probable some may be lying in the rubbish. There have been coins found—which my father distributed to gentlemen in the country to whom the Forty-Five proved fatal—and now lost. With regard to the Bells of the Abbey, I can give no certain account. The Seal of the Abbey, as belonging to Lord Madderty, is still in the Library of Innerpeffray; the only exact copy of the seal is preserved in lead in the possession of Mr Malcolm, in our neighbourhood. My brother keeps the original seal; Mr Malcolm has the impression taken from it. I have not had time to make out the dimensions—if necessary they may be made out by the assistance of others—and if you choose, Mr Malcolm will send you a perspective draught of the ruins as they at present stand.

I can give you no further account at present. I hope you have been in very good health since I had the pleasure of seeing you. I shall be glad when convenient to see the historical account you mentioned, and you may rest assured that I shall use every endeavour to gain any farther light into the antiquities of this Abbacy; and in case I should find any new discoveries in the course of my investigations, I shall take care to forward them to you, and should be glad to know if this letter shall come safe to your hand.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN DOW.

3. *General Hutton to Mr Dow.*

KELSO, 20th June, 1789.

MR DOW,—I wrote you a long letter on the 8th of March last, upon receipt of yours, but as I have not heard from you since, I am apprehensive my letter has not reached you.

I would thank you very kindly for an impression of the Seal of the Abbey of Inchaffray, which you say is preserved in the Library at Innerpeffray. Please to be careful to take a fair impression, as I want it to make a drawing from. I fancy it would be best to take the impression upon wax; and if you know of any person going to Edinburgh, it might be sent directed to me at Dr Inglis, at the Cross, Edinburgh, where it would be taken care of for me; but if you cannot meet with an opportunity of transmitting to Edinburgh in this manner, be so good as send it in a letter by post, and I expect it will come safe enough, as I have received other impressions of seals by this conveyance.

Please to present my best thanks to the gentleman who kindly offered me drawings of the Abbey, which will be very acceptable to me, particularly a plan or ground-plot of the remains, showing the dimensions of the different parts. Such a plan of the old church at Tullibardine would also be of use to me, if the gentleman would be good enough to do it for me any time he is in that neighbourhood.

I will thank you to write me as fully as you can with regard to the Abbey; and if you did not receive my letter of the 8th March, I will send you another containing the same information, and probably some further circumstances.

I hope your wife and children are well. With best wishes for the welfare of yourself and them, I am very truly your sincere friend,

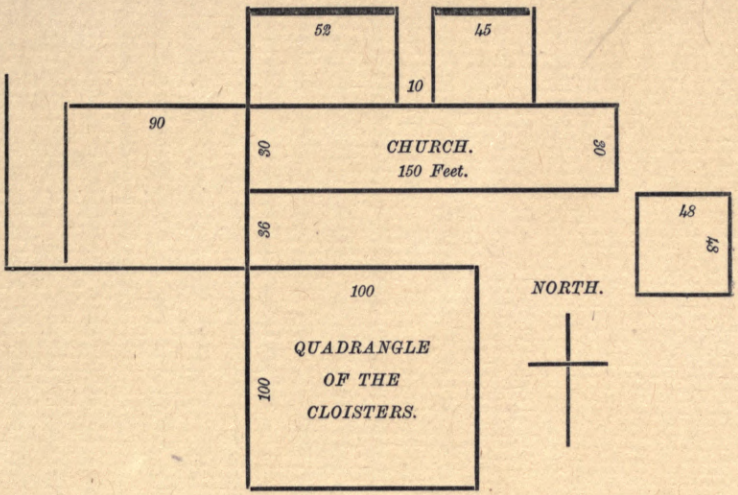
H. HUTTON.

Let us know whether your rent has been made easier to you.

John Dow's letter to General Hutton was written for him by David Malcolm, LL.D., the schoolmaster of Madderty. He was one of the chaplains for Scotland of George IV., the author of the *History of the House of Drummond*, and a good classical scholar and successful teacher.

Beyond a ground-plan of the buildings, there is no other document among the General's collections as to the Abbey of any importance. A copy of the ground-plan is given on next page.

It may be remarked that the allusion to the Abbots exercising criminal jurisdiction and carrying capital sentences into execution is inconsistent with the Canon Law, and the tradition of their having exercised such powers appears to be at fault.


52
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30
CHURCH.
150 Feet.
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48
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NORTH.
QUADRANGLE
OF THE
CLOISTERS.
100

AUCHTERARDER—1837-1897

AUCHTERARDER, 1837-1897

AT the time of the joyous celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen in the resuscitated burgh of Auchterarder, it was interesting to contrast its state and condition at the Accession in 1837 with what it was in 1897. Comparatively few within its bounds are now privileged by memory to recall these days of yore, but a recapitulation of some of the leading features of the differences between that time and the present may prove interesting to the rising generation.

In Church connection, Auchterarder was then destined to play a leading part. The Act for Political Reform had been passed in 1832, and the contagion spread from the political into the ecclesiastical arena. The popular party in the

Church, having obtained a preponderance, passed the Interim and afterwards the Veto Act, regulating the admission of ministers. Mr Young happened to be amongst the first presented to a charge, and the male heads of families availed themselves of the right conferred upon them by the Church to forbid his admission. He was an excellent scholar, an able and evangelical preacher, and a good and honourable man, and the sole and only objection which could be brought forward against him was that his discourses were read. In consequence of the objection taken to the presentee, the parish remained for many years without a settled minister, and in the interim was supplied either by members of Presbytery by turns, or by resident probationers acting by the authority of the Presbytery. About the time of the Queen's accession the Rev. James Aitken discharged the duties, and was much admired and run after for his pulpit appearances. He afterwards became minister of the High Kirk of Kilmarnock, and died some years ago. Parochial affairs, including the charge of the poor, were managed by the Kirk-Session, consisting of Messrs David Miller, senr., George M'Laurin, Andrew Morison, and William

Thomson. To their credit, be it said, they discharged their duties during the long vacancy and under trying circumstances faithfully and well. Mr Young was ordained in 1843, and died in 1865. The Rev. William Pringle was minister of the United Secession Church. He was a man of varied attainments, and an excellent classical scholar. He translated a number of works from the Latin, and was an examiner in Classics for his denomination. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was latterly conferred upon him, and he died in 1873, after a faithful ministry of fifty-five years. The other minister in the town was the Rev. George Jacque, of the Relief Church. He might be styled "the golden-mouthed preacher," as his sermons were characterised by strains of stately and imposing eloquence. He had the true poetic vein, and his published writings, both in prose and verse, were much admired. He was also an accomplished musician. He died in 1892 at a great age, lamented and beloved by an attached congregation.

By the Disruption of 1843 the large congregation of the Parish Church is now split in three, by the addition of the Free Churches in Auchterarder and Aberuthven. The Secession and

Relief Churches now belong to the same body—the United Presbyterian—and both have got new places of worship. In addition to the Presbyterian Churches, the Mother Church has got a neat place of worship built, and a costly church of elegant architecture in connection with the Episcopal Communion has also been erected. In 1837 there were three churches in the parish; now there are seven.

But in addition to this over-churching, should a Rip Van Winkle re-visit the ancient burgh, he would be struck by the change in worship which he would observe. He would, in the cradle of the Disruption, now listen to a sermon read, not delivered as formerly; instead of the psalms of the Sweet Singer of Israel, he would hear a profusion of uninspired hymns; instead of the musical strains of Bangor, St Paul's, and Martyrdom, he would be treated to a modern lilt, to the accompaniment of a kist of whistles; while he would find the old postures of worship adopted in Calvinistic Churches since the Reformation reversed—sitting at ease being now substituted for standing at prayer, and standing, instead of sitting, at praise.

Perhaps one of the greatest changes is now in

the facility of communication afforded by the advantages of the rail, the cycle, the penny post, the telegraph, and the parcel post. These benefits are, however, common to the country at large, and do not require special mention when speaking of Auchterarder. Auchterarder had long to struggle with its inland situation, being, in the words of the Act of Parliament establishing the winter market, "far from seaports." Communication to Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth by mail coach was expensive, and the result was that people seldom went from home, a journey to Perth once or twice a-year being about the outside of the travelling of an ordinary Auchterarder citizen, while a visit to the Scottish metropolis was the event of a lifetime. With all the increased facilities of communication, it is a matter of regret that the Scottish Central Railway was not made to sweep along the South Crofts instead of the line adopted, and that another golden opportunity was again lost of remedying the evil, and bringing a railway into easy access of Auchterarder, when the Crieff Junction Railway was formed. The blame lay with Auchterarder. We have good grounds for saying that had a desire been expressed for bringing

the Junction Station east, so as to tap the top of the burgh, the directors would have listened to the request; but the fitting opportunity to improve the town by railway facilities was looked upon with apathy, and allowed to pass. Had the same energy been directed towards this end which was spent in political, ecclesiastical, and civic disputes, it would have resulted in the permanent improvement of the town. Perhaps it is not yet too late to hope that the people of Auchterarder may take a leaf from their Crieff neighbours—make an effort to ensure connection with the railway, and raise the status of the capital of Upper Strathearn. While Auchterarder has had to contend with being left in the cold by the distance of the railway from the town, it has been fortunate in the development of manufacturing enterprise. Handloom weaving, principally for the Indian trade, was sixty years ago the staple industry of the place. In the town and neighbouring village of Aberuthven there would be upwards of 500 weavers. This is now a trade of the past. The click of the shuttle is not heard in the streets; instead, the introduction of steam-power gives employment to many hands, and without it

Auchterarder would be left behind in the race. Productions of its powerlooms have a world-wide celebrity, and its manufactures are the staple industry of the place, and it is to be hoped they will long continue, be more largely developed, and afford employment, as in the past, to many a willing worker.

In the Post Office there has been a remarkable development. At the Accession the office was managed by Mrs Stewart. That worthy old lady did the work alone, and there was no regular delivery of letters. Now there is a staff of 15 in number, and a delivery of letters three times a-day in the town, and by rural messengers to all parts of the district. The telegraph and parcel post bring the town into communication with all parts of the world.

In 1837 there was no light known but candles and oil. In 1842 the Gas Work was established, and its benefits are now felt in not only lighting the interior of houses and shops, but in a profusion of public lamps in the streets.

At the Accession the housing of scholars attending school was miserably defective. The Parish School consisted of one low, ill-ventilated room

at the gate of the Parish Church, while the teacher lived above in equally cribbed and inconvenient apartments. There was, in addition, John Shedden's School, and an adventure school at the Townhead, but these were kept in similar unsatisfactory accommodation. Now there is a palatial building, which cost about £5000 to erect, and which might be sufficient for a small university. There is a staff of ten teachers, and the annual cost of the establishment is about £900.

At the commencement of the reign the tract of land at the west end of the town known as the Common Muir, extending to upwards of 200 acres, was enjoyed by the inhabitants as one of the old burghal rights. It was in a state of nature, being covered with broom and whin, and the inhabitants generally enjoyed the rights of pasture and casting feal and divot thereon. A flock of goats in charge of a town's herd were collected in the morning, returning in the evening. The Common Muir was the subject of protracted litigation, begun in the early part of the century by the proprietor of the Barony for the purpose of division. Not long after the Queen commenced her reign the parties alleging interest in

the Common came to an agreement, and it was on the point of division when the inhabitants, under the leadership of the late Mr Andrew Christie, Townhead, struck in, alleging that the Common belonged to a Royal Burgh, and was consequently by law indivisible. This had the effect of staying progress, and in 1860 an Act of Parliament was obtained—being carried through by Mr A. G. Reid—for vesting the Muir in Commissioners for the benefit of the burgh. Under the powers conferred by the Act the Muir was reclaimed, and is now in a state of cultivation, and forms a valuable source of revenue for the burgh.

In 1894 the ratepayers resolved by a majority to adopt the Burgh Police Act, and since then they have been governed by Magistrates and a Town Council. The necessity for this step was doubted by many, seeing that the benefits of local government could have been carried out equally well, at much less expense, by the newly-constituted authority of the Parish Council. Having adopted the Act, it is the duty of every resident within the burgh to promote its interests, and to give a cordial support to the civic rulers in every well-devised scheme for increasing its prosperity.

In 1895, the Honourable Mrs Georgiana Lake Gloag with munificent generosity endowed the Lake Bequest, under which she handed over a sum of £5000 to Trustees for the purposes of paying a professional nurse to attend to the deserving sick poor of the parish, and to expend the remainder of the revenue arising from the investment of the principal among such poor persons as the Trustees might consider worthy of being benefited. The sufferings of many a one on a bed of sickness have been alleviated by the kind attention of the faithful nurse, while the considerate donations from the fund have assisted many old and infirm persons. The name of the donor will be long held in remembrance as the chief benefactor to the parish in which she spent her early days, and the bequest will prove an inestimable boon to the present and future generations.

A number of other beneficial changes have been made during the Queen's reign, to which we shall briefly allude. We may draw attention to the decided improvement of the dwelling-houses. During that time many elegant and substantial houses have been erected, which add much to the appearance of the town. The

internal arrangements are also of a much better character and more conducive to health, particularly in the height of apartments. Through the abolition of the duty on window lights, the benefits of light and air are now freely enjoyed without let or hindrance, and the number of windows in houses of modern erection forms a striking contrast to the spaces of dead wall contingent on the former impost to save grievous taxation. Not long before the commencement of the reign the invaluable boon of a supply of good water was, through the engineering skill of the late Captain Aytoun of Glendevon, introduced into the town, and has since been of incalculable advantage in promoting cleanliness and health.

The general list of modern discoveries and improvements now available could be largely extended, not only as regards the domestic economy of the dweller in the burgh, but also outside, in lessening the labour of the cultivator of the soil. We may mention the invention of lucifer matches superseding the old flint and steel; of the sewing-machine minimising the labour of the tailor and seamstress; and of the photograph, enabling us to gaze on the features of departed

friends, now the dwellers in the silent land. To the agriculturist, reaping and binding machines, the portable thrashing machine, and other inventions to save manual labour have proved great boons; and the substitution of wire-fencing, which can be obtained at a moderate cost, instead of the old expensive dykes, has had the effect of causing nearly all the farms in the parish to be enclosed; while the system of tile drainage, promoted by the foresight of the Government, has done much for the improvement of the land, and turned the unproductive into fruitful fields.

There has also been a great change for the better in the farmhouses and steadings, particularly on the estate of Auchterarder, not only adding much to the comfort of the tenants, but also enabling them to exercise their calling to the best advantage by affording facilities for conducting the labour of the farm, and proper housing of horses and cattle.

A conspicuous change has taken place in the mode of sale in the flocks and herds of the farmer. The old-established cattle fairs of Auchterarder, one of them dating back to the twelfth century, and another sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament in the sixteenth, have now become things of the

past. The cattle salesman now relieves the farmer of higgling at the market or disposing of his fat stock in the byre to the cattle-dealer. The weekly or bi-weekly visit to Perth to attend the sales now usurps the place of some half-dozen cattle fairs held at Auchterarder. Whether this is an unmitigated blessing or not may be questioned. Under the old system, the charges of the middleman, the expense of taking the cattle by rail to the place of sale, and the farmer's personal expenses of attendances thereat, were saved. Besides, he was not taken away so often from superintending his agricultural operations at home. On the other hand, it may be urged in favour of the change, the greater certainty of getting full value for the bestial.

We could enumerate many other changes, both general and local, and could dilate upon the inventions and discoveries of the present age. It would be an endless task. Looking to the mighty progress which has been made during the currency of the last sixty years, we may well inquire what will be the record when the next sixty years have been added to the roll of time? *Sed tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*

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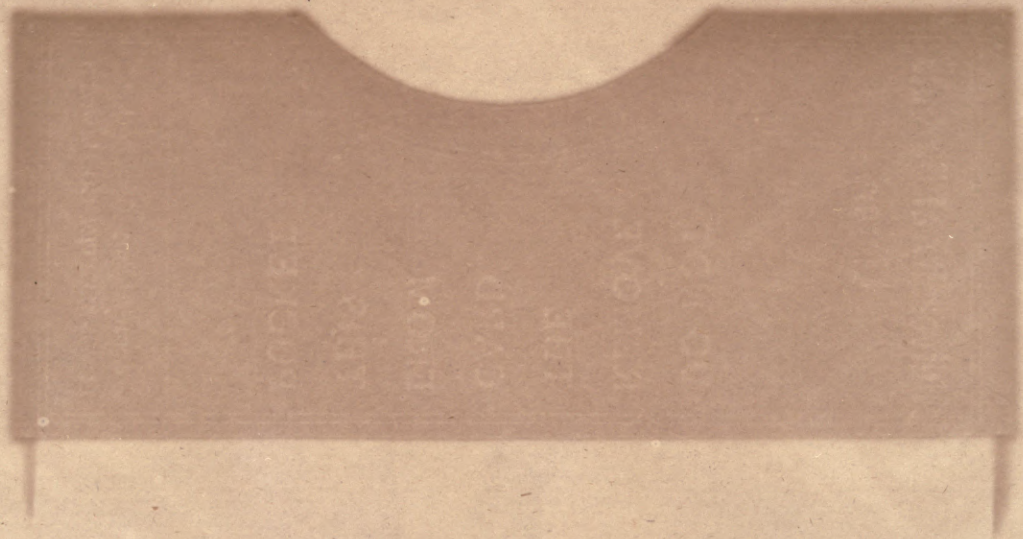

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